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# Psychiatric Quarterly

## SUPPLEMENT

OFFICIAL SCIENTIFIC ORGAN OF THE NEW YORK STATE  
DEPARTMENT OF MENTAL HYGIENE

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# THE PSYCHIATRIC QUARTERLY SUPPLEMENT

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SERPENT IMAGERY AND SYMBOLISM IN THE MAJOR ENGLISH  
ROMANTIC POETS: BLAKE, WORDSWORTH, COLERIDGE,  
BYRON, SHELLEY, KEATS. I.\*

BY LURA NANCY PEDRINI, Ph.D., AND DUILIO T. PEDRINI, Ph.D.

INTRODUCTION

The authors' interest in the serpent imagery and symbolism in English Romantic poetry began when there was occasion to study Keats' serpent imagery. Much has been written about a few special snakes and their pictorial and symbolic value, but no complete study of all the serpent images in Romantic poetry has been made. The task in this paper has been to arrange these images and their symbolism into meaningful classifications. It was felt that the less celebrated and nondescript snakes might tell us as much about the major Romantics and Romanticism as the more famous ones, such as Shelley's good serpent in *The Revolt of Islam*, Coleridge's water snakes in *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, and Keats' serpent-woman in *Lamia*.

Literature concerning snake-worship is abundant, but the Romantics seemed to be concerned primarily with the serpent's sensuous appeal and its evil nature. It is true that the serpent participates in their portrayals of a pantheistic world, especially that of Shelley, but then only as a kindred being deserving consideration, not adoration.

Because so much of the serpent lore seems to have no direct bearing on the actual imagery and symbolism, background material and other secondary source material have been kept at a minimum. Wherever a bit of snake lore has been helpful, it has been used; wherever secondary sources have helped to explain the image and symbol in terms of the writers' own classification, they have been used. But they have been omitted whenever their use seemed to be forcing information upon the reader and the image. Since the main concern was to stay closely to the actual imagery in the

\*This is Part I of a two-part paper. Part II will appear in THE PSYCHIATRIC QUARTERLY SUPPLEMENT, Part 1, 1961.

This paper is based on a dissertation presented by Dr. Lura Pedrini in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy (in English and American literature) at the University of Texas. Dr. Duilio Pedrini contributed psychological and philosophical material.

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Romantic poems, only a third of the material collected is presented—in an attempt to avoid an encyclopedic dissertation.\*

### I. SYMBOLISM AND ROMANTICISM

The nineteenth-century Romanticists were dissatisfied with the cold analytical reasoning of the preceding century and its deadening effect upon literature, art, and life.\*\* Stressing the totality of man, they deprecated the understanding, because of its inadequacy to apprehend spiritual truths. The Romanticists acknowledged the power of reason and intellect to dismantle and dissect, but deplored the powerlessness of these faculties to put the pieces back together and to see a unity among them. Wordsworth, for example, accuses the meddling intellect of being a murderer:

Sweet is the lore which Nature brings;  
Our meddling intellect  
Misshapes the beauteous forms of things,—  
We murder to dissect.

#### *The Tables Turned†*

Only imagination, the intuitive faculty, is the synthesizer. Labeling the component parts requires critical acumen; synthesizing them into a unified whole requires the help of the intuitive imagination. Wordsworth in *Intimations of Immortality* dwells at length upon the superiority of the child's intuition over the adult's reason, which leads him away from ultimate truth and its divine source, the spiritual force residing in and energizing all life. Man's traveling into adulthood away from his spiritual home is comparable to the sun's progress through the heavens from its birth to its setting. The farther it advances after noon, the dimmer its light be-

\*The authors wish to express their gratitude to Dr. Willis Pratt for generosity with time in consultation and constructiveness in criticism, and to Drs. D. T. Starnes, Oscar Maurer, Joseph Jones and R. H. Williams, all of the faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Texas, for co-operation with many helpful suggestions.

\*\*The position outlined here is that taken by the Romanticists themselves, not necessarily by the authors of this paper. It can be pointed out with considerable justification that the revolutionary ideas of human freedom and death to the tyrant espoused by the Romantic poets were expressed in the eighteenth century by many writers, though seldom in poetry. In France, one could list Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot and the Encyclopedists; and in Great Britain and America, Samuel Johnson, Swift, Goldsmith, Robert Burns, Hogarth (as a social satirist), Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Paine. To the Romantic poets themselves, however, and to many students of their movement, they were rebels against what they felt was an evil, the cold analytic reason of the preceding century—which they often symbolized by the serpent.

†Wordsworth, William: *The Complete Poetical Works*. Student's Cambridge Edition. 1904. P. 83. (All quotations are from this edition.)

comes. And unless man can penetrate the darkness with his intuitive imagination, he loses his way; for even though his reason points out the signposts, it is only his imagination which turns the signposts into symbols. Reason, the senses, and understanding apprehend signposts which direct man through the perceptual world; the intuitive imagination interprets the signposts, not as designators, but as symbols which direct man through the spiritual world.

The symbol suggests meanings growing out of thought and feeling that reside in the penumbral area between the brightness of the sun and the darkness of the shadow core. Reason, understanding, and the senses apprehend the signs only in the sunlight; intuition and imagination, the seeing-eye dog of blind reason and understanding, penetrate the shadows and experience a whole new world. In terms of another analogy,

When we deal with a symbol, it is rather as if we drew the cork from the magic bottle of the Arabian Nights. First a kind of thick and confusing smoke pours out; then strange forms take shape out of the smoke, and modify each other, perceptually shifting in the corners of our mind.\*

Symbol, like smoke, is at first formless, without body, and indeterminate but is "always the remainder, or reminder, of something that once had intrinsic value, as an image, shadow, or reflection has by being, or participating in, the man's soul."\*\* Or symbol, suggesting rather than stating, casting shadows rather than delineating in bold, definitive lines, possesses the construction and quality of "dreams, through which unformed feelings and desires unwittingly find expression."† Again resembling smoke, "symbol is distinguished by being focal, massive and not arbitrary."‡ Just as the spectator's imagination can transform the mass of smoke into various shapes, so can this same creative faculty forge numerous and widely divergent meanings out of symbol. The signpost, being arbitrary, requires the complete obedience of reason; the symbol, which is not arbitrary, lends itself to the flexibility and liberating power of intuition and imagination, which turns the material world into a copy of the invisible world. This

\*Henn, T. B.: *The Apple and the Spectroscope*. 1951. P. 38.

\*\*Read, Carveth: *Man and His Superstitions*. 1925. P. 69.

†Bodkin, Maud: *Archetypal Patterns in Poetry: Psychological Studies of Imagination*. 1951. P. 204, footnote 1.

‡Warren, Robert Penn: *A Poem of Pure Imagination: An Experiment in Reading*. 1946. P. 76.



invisible world is the spiritual, ideal world and can be attained only by power of the intuition and imagination to recognize the signs of the material world as false and deceiving and to accept them as symbols pointing beyond themselves to a more real world than the perceivable one. "The symbolist leaves the given to find that which is more real."\* The perceivable, given world is an expression of thought, and the symbolist is more interested in the thought which has prompted the expression than in the expression itself.

Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy explains the symbol as man's effort to embody in a tangible or otherwise perceptible form the divine and spiritual, which he cannot understand until he has translated it on a lower level. Coomaraswamy observes that symbols do not increase with the development of higher spirituality in men but, on the contrary, they emerge when there is a decline in our divinity and spirituality. Symbols provide a remedy for the indigence of the soul in the time of decline. Cautioning against the formalistic method of investigating the outward and formal aspects of symbols—an approach which leads to a vacuum since it deals with the end, not with the beginning—Coomaraswamy exhorts particularly the creative artist to penetrate beyond the tangible:

Maintain the transparence of the material, that it may be saturated with the spirit. He can obey the command only if he maintains his own transparency, and that is the rock on which most of us are apt to break. Each and everyone reaches a point in life when he begins to stiffen and—either [sic] stiffens in fact or must by superhuman effort recover for himself what he possessed undiminished in his childhood but was more and more taken from him in youth; so that the doors of the spiritual world may open to him, and the spirit find its way into body and soul.\*\*

Literary symbols originated as truly social products. The central function of poetry as symbolism is the poet's attempt to formulate into language, and to elucidate, his experiences so that society can share and better understand those thoughts, feelings, and instincts common to all mankind. In Freudian terms, Ernest Jones observes that symbolism, particularly unconscious symbolism, is "confined to the themes of birth, love and death, and to thoughts about the body and the nearest relatives."† Jones concludes that

\*Lewis, C. S.: *The Allegory of Love*. 1936. P. 45.

\*\*Coomaraswamy, Ananda: *The life of symbols*. *Modern Review*, LVII:226, February 1935.

†Jones, Ernest: *Essays in Applied Psychoanalysis*. 1951. II, 126.

these themes must comprise the fundamental interests of mankind. The restrictions of society render a man unable or unwilling to express freely some of his feelings and ideas, even though they are common to all people; therefore, symbolism is the individual's way of overcoming these inhibitions and restrictions, to share thoughts and feelings with society which it already possesses but for which society would punish him, provided he spoke literally and directly.

Not every man has the urge or recognizes his power to share his experiences. All men possess the intuitive faculty but some fail to recognize this power and, thus, let it remain latent. Others realize that they themselves are miniature divinities, possessing the capacity for penetrating the great energizing source of the world and for perceiving the truth about actual living experience: . . . man can never know the truth about himself, nor find in his relationships with the world that truth or reality which transcends them, unless he develops his power of intuition. The intuitive imagination, which works through symbols, is the very essence of art.\*

The assumption with which the symbolist sets out is that there is a complete break between the natural and the spiritual worlds. Ascertaining truth involves bridging the gap between the two worlds. For bridging them, the mystic uses symbols taken from the natural world which the senses apprehend but can only partially interpret. The senses cannot go beyond a literal translation of the material world. Man's intuition must finish the process of the action initiated by the senses and envision the whole picture rather than the partial one. Mystics believe that the soul's native realm is the spiritual world but that man's whole range of experiences and observations is limited to the natural world. Of course, adjustment to the requirements of the natural world is necessary, but this adaptation must be done without permitting the spiritual faculties to rust. Even though the mystic recognizes the division between the natural and spiritual worlds, he still realizes that the former is founded upon the latter and, consequently, that all of its forms and processes have their counterpart there. The phenomena of the natural world are valueless unless used to direct attention to the spiritual world. If man accepts the natural world as valuable within and for itself, then he is in a lamentable

\*Wingfield, Digby, George: *Symbol and Image in William Blake*. 1957. Pp. 6-7.

condition, or, as Blake (following the *Bible* or Milton) specifically represents him, he is under the spell of a deceiving serpent.

All of the Romanticists felt a symbolism in natural objects, in which they intuited an essence that corresponded to their own essential nature. Out of this correspondence grew a better understanding of themselves and of the whole related world of both the animate and inanimate. Coleridge wrote,

In looking at objects of Nature, . . . I seem rather to be seeking, as it were *asking* for, a symbolical language for something within me that already and for ever exists, than observing anything new.\*

This is a typical expression of the Romanticists, who looked for a phenomenon of nature to express their own inner feelings. When Shelley, in his *Ode to the West Wind*, wishes to be a leaf to blow about the earth, a cloud to float through the heavens, or a wave to surge under the power of the Wild Spirit, both creator and destroyer, he is projecting his inner experiences upon actuality. With this tendency to find in natural objects an expression of his inner life, there seems little doubt that Coleridge felt in wind and in stagnant calm symbols of the contrasted states he felt so poignantly, of ecstasy and of inertia.

C. S. Lewis states in *The Allegory of Love* that the poetry of symbolism finds its greatest expression in the time of the Romantics, who recognized this material, visible world as only a copy of the immaterial, invisible world. The concrete, physical objects are imperfect replicas of the abstract, spiritual, and perfect Forms in the other world. In other words, this world is but an imperfect shadow cast by the perfect light of the other world, and the senses, reason, and understanding are inadequate in recognizing the limitations of the shadow world. If one desires to penetrate the essence of being and existence, to apprehend the perfect Forms which cast the shadows, then one must interpret the signs of this world by use of the intuitive imagination rather than by perception. Power to read the symbols lies within the individual's ability to intuit the Oneness in the universe and to participate in this natural order.

What the eighteenth-century rationalists saw as irreconcilable elements, the Romanticists were able to blend by their imagination, which must be given as free a rein as the emotions. Imagination fuses and integrates the natural and supernatural, the conscious and unconscious, sign and symbol, fact and myth, physical

\*Coleridge, Samuel Taylor: *Anima Poetae*. 1895. P. 136.

and spiritual, and man and animal. Reason discovers the breach; the intuitive imagination heals it. Since man himself is a symbol of nature, then his own intuitive imagination can apprehend the spiritual force back of the visible world. Since man is the finite containing a bit of the infinite, he is capable of breaking through physical boundaries to attain the spiritual. Man is still an integral part of nature and earth and tied as if by an umbilical cord to the inner life of the universe. Because of this innate union, he has the urge and capacity to penetrate into the earth's mysteries.

Coleridge recognized the imagination as the shaping spirit and the true inward creatrix. He described the poet as bringing all aspects of man into play, subordinating all faculties according to their relative worth and dignity. Imagination is the power which fuses them into a harmonious whole:

... Good sense is the Body of poetic genius, Fancy its Drapery, Motion its Life, and Imagination the Soul that is everywhere, and in each; and forms all into one graceful and intelligent whole.\*

Tracing Coleridge's water snakes in the *Rime of the Ancient Mariner* back to their literary birth, John Livingston Lowes stressed not the sources but the imaginative transformation they underwent in the mind of Coleridge and felt sure that the direction and movement which the raw materials took were more important than their original condition. Ugly phenomena became beautiful when subjected to the power of imagination:

... the emphasis lies on the raw materials solely in their relation to the new whole which has been wrought from them. For their ultimate unity is not... without descent. And the recognition of its possibly dubious lineage simply heightens the glory of its latter state. In movement direction is everything, and the amazing fact is not that there was once a time 'when mind was mud,' but rather that mud in due course mounts to mind, and alligators and idiots and slimy seas become the stuff that dreams are made on. That, I suspect, is one of the most momentous functions of the imagination—its sublimation of brute fact.\*\*

Coleridge spoke of the "streamy nature of the associative faculty," which emerges from a deep well of chaotic images. When these associated ideas reach the top of the well, imagination, the "shaping spirit," begins to curb and rudder. Imagination is at work constantly seeking beauty.

\*Coleridge, Samuel Taylor: *Biographia Literaria*. Ernest Rhys, editor. 1934. XIV, 167.

\*\*Lowes, John Livingston: *The Road to Xanadu*, 1927. P. 48.



Keats, too, recognized the directing power of imagination. In a letter to Benjamin Bailey, in which he repeats his thoughts on poetry as he had earlier expressed them to his brother George, Keats speaks of Fancy as the sails and "Imagination the Rudder."<sup>\*</sup> In *Ode on a Grecian Urn*, the poet praises imagination:

Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard  
Are sweeter. . . .

*Ode on a Grecian Urn*<sup>\*\*</sup>

Sensation, according to Keats, takes on a heightened value when idealized by the imagination.

Shelley, no less enthusiastically than Coleridge and Keats, praised the power of imagination:

In a dramatic composition the imagery and the passion should interpenetrate one another, the former being reserved simply for the full development and illustration of the latter. Imagination is as the immortal God which should assume flesh for the redemption of mortal passion. It is thus that the most remote and the most familiar imagery may alike be fit for dramatic purposes when employed in the illustration of strong feeling, which raises what is low, and levels to the apprehension that which is lofty casting over all the shadow of its own greatness.<sup>†</sup>

Such emphasis on the power of the imagination results in extravagant thought, emotion, and expression, which in turn frequently evoke much misunderstanding and abuse. Few movements have been so misunderstood and mutilated as Romanticism. No movement has been so vastly significant and sweeping in design, yet so evasive of definition. Even today, confusion still reigns: Collegiate philosophers still haggle over the beginnings of romanticism, the nature of romanticism, the destiny of romanticism, each prodding a personal predilection. One blames Kant, another exalts Fenelon, one declares Bacon, another maintains Plato, and one asserts the Serpent, as the founder of Romanticism.<sup>‡</sup>

It is interesting to think of the serpent as the founder of Romanticism. However disrespectful it may seem to call the serpent the predecessor of the Romanticists, the idea becomes less shocking when one remembers that Byron called Shelley the "snake" and

<sup>\*</sup>Keats, John: *The Letters of John Keats*. Maurice Buxton Forman, editor. 1952. 25, p. 52.

<sup>\*\*</sup>Keats, John: *Poetical Works*. H. W. Garrod, editor. 1956. P. 209. (All quotations are from this edition.)

<sup>†</sup>Shelley, Percy Bysshe: *Preface to The Cenci*. In: *Complete Poetical Works*. Thomas Hutchinson, editor. 1952. P. 277. (All quotations are from this edition.)

<sup>‡</sup>Calverton, V. F.: *Sex Expression in Literature*. 1926. P. 158.



that Shelley spoke of himself as the serpent who had been shut out of Paradise when he had to stop visiting Jane and Edward Williams, possibly as a result of Mary's objections to his attentions to Jane. Whether or not the relationship will bear a genealogical study, there are some parallels between the serpent and the Romantics. The serpent instigated a revolt in the Garden of Eden by making Eve aware of her own individual needs and desires, of the pleasure in exercising one's choice instead of blindly obeying the decree of another, and of the joy in rejecting tradition and precedent to create one's own rules of behavior. Like the serpent, the Romantics stressed individuality, vented their own thoughts and emotions, prevailed upon the rest of the world to do the same, rejected the decrees of the eighteenth century, and in general revolted against everything except the right to revolt.

No literary movement has lent itself to a greater expression of symbolism than Romanticism; no animal has lent itself to more symbolical interpretation than the serpent.

## II. THE SERPENT AND ROMANTICISM

Whether the serpent is the "founder of Romanticism" is questionable, but nevertheless it is an interesting suggestion. Little research is required, however, to discover the profound influence the serpent has had on the thoughts and literature of all people since the beginning of time. At times the snake is regarded as sacred, at other times as profane, or sometimes as an object evoking both reverence and hatred, but the snake is rarely considered just an ordinary animal pursuing its own way of existence with no significance for man. A survey of the Romantic movement quickly reveals that the Romantics were fascinated by the serpent and were interested in its symbolic and imaginative value. An examination of several prominent aspects of the Romantic period helps us to understand the serpent's major role.

A significant aspect of Romanticism is a revived feeling toward nature, a sensuous delight in color, form, sound, and motion.\* Keats' poetry particularly reveals this sensuous delight in nature. An apostle of beauty, Keats, like the Greeks and their delight in the physical world, exercised his imagination to present the object,

\*Blake, however, is the notable exception. Nature, according to this poet, provides no spiritual help for man but appeals only to his senses and reason. Thus, Blake distrusts and damns nature, which he compares to a deceiving serpent.

not merely to describe it. Because of his firm grasp on concrete objects, his poetry is sensuous. In addition to sensuousness achieved by vivid presentation of the external aspects of the object, his poetry reveals a sensuous quality created by his ability to submerge his own personality and to penetrate the character of the object. Keats believed that the true poet hides his identity and takes on the color, mood, and the character of the object under consideration. In other words, the poet is like a chameleon, who is himself

the most unpoetical of any thing in existence; because he has no Identity—he is continually informing and filling some other Body—The Sun, the Moon, the Sea, and Men and Women who are creatures of impulse are poetical and have about them an unchangeable attribute—the poet has none; no identity—he is certainly the most unpoetical of all God's Creatures.\*

Among the various objects which Keats uses to create sensuousness and to evoke a physical, mental, and emotional reaction in the reader is the serpent, valuable for both its sensuous and sensual appeal. All of the major Romanticists, especially Shelley and Keats, stress the visual and kinesthetic appeal of objects. It is understandable, then, that the serpent with its color and muscular movement fascinated Shelley and Keats. Even though Wordsworth does not use the serpent extensively in his poetry, he creates many visual images which reveal his delight in a sense life and his readiness to receive impressions from the outer world. Byron's pleasure in witnessing and sharing the joys of nature does not derive so much from delight in exercising the senses as from the solace which nature as a refuge from unsympathetic society affords him. Hurt and eager for revenge, Byron finds the retaliatory nature of the serpent more interesting than its sensuous appeal. In addition to the use of the serpent for its sensuousness, Shelley stresses its symbolic value. Coleridge and Blake, too, find the psychological implications of the serpent of even more value than the physical.

However much the Romantic poets value the sense impression of nature, they stress even more the spiritual force energizing nature. In their moments of exercising the intuitive imagination, they discover within themselves a correspondence with the divinity pervading all the universe. Both the body and soul of man require sustenance, and nature possesses the nourishment for both.

\*Keats, John: *The Letters of John Keats*. Op. cit. Letter 93, p. 227.

Dominance of the physical reduces man to a malevolent and ravaging serpent; dominance of the spiritual elevates man into a non-feeling ethereal wisp, unsuited for a mundane existence. The Romanticists regard the physical and spiritual as complements, and not necessarily as antagonists engaged in a deathlike struggle to achieve victory. Real victory lies within a reconciliation of the body and spirit. Man should not be like a serpent stretched out on the ground, feeling his way blindly about; neither should he be an unbodied spirit with no senses to delight in the pleasures of the physical world. The Romanticists, then, look to physical and divine nature as the model to follow in this integrating process.

The feeling that God, or an omnipresent spiritual force, resides in nature and that man himself is, like all other entities, an emanation of this divinity is called pantheism. Fundamental ideas at the base of the conception of pantheism are the adoration of Mother Earth, the senses of animal kinship, and the idea of reincarnation.

The adoration of Mother Earth grows out of the conception that God pervades all the earth and that the finiteness of even the serpent shares in the infiniteness of the all-pervading force just as the finiteness of man shares in this infiniteness. Thus, the Romanticists, intuiting God's infiniteness in the most finite forms of life, came to regard them with awe and love. Earth, the mother of all natural plant and animal life, is more powerful and ancient than all the gods. Mother Earth, in Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*, expresses her superiority and impartiality as guardian of her creatures, all of which, including the "creeping forms," are her children, partaking of the same sustenance. The concept of animal kinship finds its most eloquent expression in man's recognition of the lowly and/or hateful serpent as sharing in the divinity pervading the universe. What more dramatic example of animal kinship can there be than the feeling of comradeship between man, erect in stature, and the serpent prone and crawling! An even greater expression of kinship is the transmigration of the human soul to the body of a serpent, the transformation of a serpent into a human being, or the transformation of a human being into a serpent. Mythology is replete with such legends.

Dissatisfied with the condition to which man had reduced himself, the Romanticists, like the mythological characters, found the idea of relinquishing their human form for that of an animal or plant desirable. The exercise of the intuitive imagination had

surmounted barriers between all forms of life and enabled man to see that he, of all of God's creatures, had done the worst by himself. Regretting man's separation from nature, the Romanticists began to contemplate the joys of losing their human forms for those of a skylark, a nightingale, a leaf, a wave, or a cloud. Shelley did not express a wish to be transformed into a snake, but he does refer to himself as a snake in the poem *To Edward Williams*. Byron was the first to call Shelley a "snake," specifically in reference to his gliding in and out of rooms almost imperceptibly. It may also be an indirect comment on the latter's revolutionary ideas about the freedom of man.

The Romanticist's intuitive imagination revealed to him a sense of mystery in the universe and in man. He was aware that reason and the conscious could not fathom this mystery; therefore, he began to rely on the intuitive imagination for an understanding of the mystery. Freeing himself from a preoccupation with the immediate and actual, he nostalgically looked backward for a glimpse of a better world. This better world included the mythological world, free of the corruption of human institutions and of the greed and tyranny of priests and kings. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century world was sordid with the horrors of child labor, slave-trade atrocities, and Napoleonic wars.

The mythological world, in contrast, was a natural state; man was still an integral part of plant, mineral, and other animal life. But the eighteenth century had not appreciated the significance of the mythological world; thus, the Romanticists set about to restore freshness and vigor to the earth:

Mythology, which had been reduced to a merely decorative function, or rejected altogether by the Augustan poets, was rehabilitated. The Gods and daemons of poetic fancy became, in Shelley and Keats especially, the living incarnations of the forces of the subconscious world, whose existence psychology was just beginning to divine. Fundamentally, this process was a rediscovery and a transvaluation of religious symbolism, though only in the work of Blake was this phenomenon explicit.\*

The Romantic poets recognized the vast treasury of mythology as containing symbolic significance for the experiences of all of mankind. Lamb was particularly aware of the close relationship between mythology and man's unconscious. He realized that the study of mythology is simply another way of man's understanding his own mind:

\*Heath-Stubbs, John: *The Darkling Plain*. 1950. Pp. xii-xiii.



Gorgons, and Hydras, and Chimaeras—dire stories of Celaeno and the Harpies—may reproduce themselves in the brain of superstition—but they were there before. They are transcripts, types—the archetypes are in us, and eternal.—These terrors—date beyond body—or, without the body, they would have been the same.\*

The fact that four of the five mythological creatures which Lamb mentions are serpents or possess serpent characteristics emphasizes the important role of the serpent not only in mythology but also in man's conscious and unconscious thinking.

The poetry of the Romantics brings out the underlying, archetypal significance of the ancient mythological symbols they are employing. These poets value the myths as symbols of man's unconscious state. By re-creating the myths, they enable him to fathom his unconscious drives and by understanding them achieve a reconciliation and integration. The myths of classical antiquity, which had become relatively meaningless by the eighteenth century, were re-created by Wordsworth, Keats, and Shelley and given new life and potency as well as high poetical values. The traditional view saw in both symbol and myth poetic metaphor for some rational idea or, in a pragmatic sense, a useful fiction. Symbol and myth, from the traditional view, had no truth of their own but were given some aspect of truth by reason of an analogy to something else. This allegorical interpretation was discarded by the Romantic School:

In the view of the Romanticists, the creation of a myth was not due to an intentional act of an inspired individual, but was the natural and unintentional activity of the collective mind. . . . Symbol and Myth are not intended to give, in a veiled manner, information about something known otherwise, but they reveal the innermost nature of a people. They do not copy reality, but they are responses to reality.\*\*

Keats recognized classic myths as symbols with which to present a vision of man and a new world. The poem *I Stood Tip-toe* expresses Keats' affirmation of the identity of nature, myth, and poetry. Keats, a natural mythmaker, brings mythology alive by re-creating the old myths and by giving them modern implications. Thomas Raysor observes that Keats' earlier verse employs myth as symbols of sensuous joys but his later poetry employs myth more as a pattern of thought "so that in the completed work myth

\*Lamb, Charles: Witches, and other night fears. In: *Essays of Elia*. The Temple Edition. 1884. P. 118.

\*\*Altmann, Alexander: Symbol and myth. *Philosophy*, XX: 163, July 1945.



and personal philosophy are integrated myth-making genius combining with earnest endeavor to know and explain essentials.”\*

Like Keats, Shelley has a unique genius for myth-making. The Romanticists do not use mythology as a mere poetic device but recognize it as embodying a reconciliation of the natural and mental worlds. They seize upon the myths as symbols for bridging the gap between the natural and supernatural worlds and for helping man to reintegrate within himself his spiritual and physical drives. In this way, mythology aids him to reintegrate with all other plant and animal life—equal sharers in the cosmic divinity. This reaching into the mythological past is the Romanticist's attempt to re-enter a primordial state and restore himself to his natural divinity.

Such faith in mythology and its embodying psychological elements so fascinating to man since the beginning of time accounts for the array of mythological characters which come alive in the poetry of the Romantics. A very close survey of the classical myths reveals the astounding role the serpent plays, sometimes as friend and sometimes as enemy, but always conceived of as significant. The serpent is one of the most popular animals in mythology.

Another interest heightening the role of the serpent during the period of Romanticism was animal magnetism. London air was filled with the subject matter at the time that Coleridge was attending school, and from the pronounced interest in the hypnotic eye as treated in his works, he must have given some credence to the subject of ocular fascination. Even the poet himself felt the power of his own eye, which could rivet the attention of the listener and render him oblivious to all other aspects of the charmer. Like the “glittering eye” of the ancient mariner, Coleridge's own eye could detain the guest and with a steady gaze captivate and mesmerize him. This intense interest in animal magnetism helps to explain the numerous allusions to hypnotic glances and fascination found in the poems designed by Coleridge and Wordsworth for *Lyrical Ballads* in 1798. Coleridge's plan to take the supernatural and treat it as if real was a narrower range than Wordsworth's design of throwing, over the natural, something of the supernatural:

\*Raysor, Thomas M.: *The English Romantic Poets*. 1950. P. 240.

...so far as his [Coleridge's] salient ideas are concerned he hardly goes beyond the province of animal magnetism; and the notion of 'fixing,' and then of sudden release, keeps getting the mastery over him after the fashion of a hobby bestriding its rider. Add to this conception of 'fixing' the readily associated idea of a good or an evil will in the magnetizer, which may naturally extend to blessing, or cursing the person who is 'fixed,' and we have the dominant notions in *Three Graves*, *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, and *Christabel*, and much of the contemporary *Osorio*.\*

Lowes discusses in *The Road to Xanadu* Coleridge's interest in animal magnetism, a subject engrossing him so much that he proposed (as usual!) to write a book on it. Nor (again as usual) was his preoccupation hidden from his friends. 'He will begin,' wrote Southey to his wife in 1817, with a touch of not unnatural asperity, 'as he did when I last saw him, about Animal Magnetism, or some equally congruous subject, and go on from Dan to Beersheba in his endless loquacity.' Carlyle, in his contemptuous and cruel sketch of June 24, 1824, refers to him as 'a kind, good soul, full of religion and affection, and poetry and animal magnetism.'\*\*

The poetry of Keats, Byron, and Shelley also reveals an interest in the hypnotic power of the eye not only of the serpent but also of some evil human beings.

Associated with the renewed awareness of nature, the attempt to re-create a mythological world, and the interest in animal magnetism is the tendency of the Romanticists to stress the supernatural, Gothic, and strange. Man's intuitive imagination pushed back the boundaries of the natural world and entered a supernatural world, full of wonder, strangeness, and grotesqueness. Even though the reason, senses, and consciousness cannot apprehend the supernatural world, it is foolish, according to the Romanticists, to deny these manifestations. Although a Victorian in time, Charles Gould is a true Romanticist in spirit when he expresses his willingness to believe in the existence of sea serpents. In *Mythical Monsters*,† Gould quotes Montaigne to support his belief that however incredible a thing may seem to man's reason it is extremely presumptuous to suppose that God and nature's power is limited by man's understanding. Montaigne's insistence that man avoid rejecting as incredible that which his limited mind and reason cannot affirm suggests Coleridge's tone in the description of his

\*Cooper, Lane: The power of the eye in Coleridge. In: Studies in Language and Literature in Honor of J. M. Hart. 1910. P. 98.

\*\*Lowes, John Livingston: The Road to Xanadu. 1927. P. 254.

†Gould, Charles: Mythical Monsters. 1886. Pp. 260-61.

own contribution to *Lyrical Ballads*, done in collaboration with Wordsworth. Coleridge feels that his endeavors should be directed to persons and characters supernatural, or at least romantic; yet so as to transfer from our inward nature a human interest and a semblance of truth sufficient to procure for these shadows of imagination that willing suspension of disbelief for the moment, which constitutes poetic faith.\*

The true Romantic finds the mythical world with all of its wonder, strangeness, and grotesqueness corresponding more closely to the world of his unconscious than does the visible world surrounding him. The supernatural world corresponds to the unconscious; the natural world appeals only to the conscious.

Gothic propensities of Shelley's mind are revealed in the following incident: Shelley, Dr. John Polidori, Mary Shelley, and Claire Clairmont were reading ghost stories one evening. After Byron had begun reading Coleridge's *Christabel*, Shelley arose and ran out of the room. Byron and Dr. Polidori followed and found Shelley faint and disturbed. Upon recovering, he told them that as he listened to the description of Lady Geraldine he had a vision of eyes in the place of nipples in Mary's bosom. This Gothic propensity in Shelley's poetry yields many images of the strange, supernatural, and grotesque world. Frequently the appearance of the serpent lends to this Gothic atmosphere, an effect achieved by a combination of the ugly and the beautiful.

This combination of the ugly and the beautiful is the basis of the Romanticists' theory of beauty. This theory is in accordance with Lessing's concept of poetry as enunciated in *Laokoon*. Distinguishing poetry from sculpture, which deals with space, reproduces only one moment, and thus must treat necessarily of beauty, Lessing declares that poetry is not subject to these limitations. Instead poetry deals with time, can present a series of actions, and has the whole gamut of expression at its command. All of nature is the province of poetry, which can treat not only of the beautiful and agreeable but also of the ugly and terrible. Romanticism, with its rebelliousness toward all inhibition, moderation, and restraint, is an extravagant expression of Lessing's theory. Beauty, then, for the Romanticists is closely allied to suffering and agony. The horrid became an essential element of Romanticism and was a source of both beauty and poetry. It is true

\*Coleridge, Samuel Taylor: *Biographia Literaria*. Ernest Rhys, editor. 1934. XIV. P. 161.

that the horrible causes pain, but for the Romanticists, pleasure grows out of this pain and is inseparable from it. The agony arising from the repulsive is a romantic one, and suffering is desirable. Accursed beauty, as is represented by the death-dealing, snaky-haired Medusa, is the supreme beauty:

In fact, to such an extent were Beauty and Death looked upon as sisters by the Romantics that they became fused into a sort of two-faced herm, filled with corruption and melancholy and fatal in its beauty—a beauty which, the more bitter the taste, the more abundant the enjoyment.\*

Shelley's poem *On the Medusa of Leonarda da Vinci in the Florentine Gallery* is an expression, or perhaps a manifesto, of the conception of beauty peculiar to the Romantics:

'Tis the tempestuous loveliness of terror;

For from the serpents gleams a brazen glare

Kindled by that inextricable error,

Which makes a thrilling vapour of the air

Become a ——— and ever-shifting mirror

Of all the beauty and the terror there—

A woman's countenance, with serpent-locks,

Gazing in death on Heaven from those wet rocks.

*On the Medusa of Leonardo da Vinci.*\*\*

Contemplating the picture of the serpent-haired Medusa, Shelley feels that the greatest beauty must emerge in combination with the horrible. The influence of the Medusa is not attributable just to her loveliness but to the combination of her beauty subjected to the agony caused by the vipers wreathing her face. Beauty is most powerful when it evokes the greatest emotion, and the most intense emotions are those growing out of suffering. This same habit of looking for beauty in ugliness carries over to Shelley's search for goodness in badness. Illustrating the poet's belief that the apparent is not always what it seems is his use of the generally scorned serpent to symbolize beauty, truth, or goodness.

Kenneth Burke observes that the idea of "beauty" became obscured in the nineteenth century because the aesthetic theorists, who were comfortable and at leisure, stressed the decorative rather than the sublime. But the very fact that poetry seeks to stress the beautiful implies the need for protection against ugliness. In other words, poetry is produced for purposes of comfort, and in order to analyze the element of comfort in beauty, continues Burke,

\*Praz, Mario: *The Romantic Agony*. 1933. P. 31.

\*\*Shelley, Percy Bysshe: *On the Medusa of Leonardo da Vinci*, v, p. 583.



we must examine the element of discomfort, for which the poetry is "medicine." Thus, threat becomes the basis of beauty. That the Romanticists used the serpent as a threat out of which beauty may emerge, or that the word "serpent" or the animal itself is used to compare human beings, their actions, and areas of life and experience, is supported by abundant images and symbolic episodes: ... we see Coleridge, among the greatest critics of world literature, likening the work of Shakespeare to the movements of a serpent, while in 'The Ancient Mariner,' a poem explicitly of fascination and terror, we have that fatal moment of recreation when the loathsome watersnakes are proclaimed blessed and beautiful.\*

To the Romanticists no basic contradiction existed between the ugly and the beautiful. Both often stir the emotions, an experience which the Romanticists found desirable.

The power of the intuitive imagination of the Romanticists reconciles the irreconcilables—body and spirit, nature and the supernatural, the conscious and unconscious, ugliness and beauty, badness and goodness, and falseness and truth. And the serpent in the poetry of the Romanticists is the best animal image and symbol for analyzing, comparing, and synthesizing these irreconcilables.

### III. SERPENT IMAGERY IN THE MAJOR ROMANTICS

For purposes of critical analysis, serpent images in the poetry of the major Romanticists—Blake, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, and Keats—can be broken down into six classifications: those comparing man's emotions with the serpent; those comparing his physical and mental attributes with the serpent; those comparing the whole man with the serpent; those comparing areas and aspects of human life and experiences with the serpent; those comparing natural phenomena and man-made objects with the serpent; and those in which the serpent is presented as mere animal or as pictorial detail.

The serpent images of the first five classifications are generally expressed in metaphors and similes. The last classification does not use the serpent for comparison but only for description of a phenomenalist world.

A breakdown of the images in the first three classifications is difficult to make in that the images overlap to some extent and

\*Burke, Kenneth: *The Philosophy of Literary Forms. Studies in Symbolic Action*. 1941. P. 63.



some can conceivably fit into all three categories. Even though the breakdown is somewhat arbitrary and some of the images seem to fit into possibly all three categories, they are placed in their more natural and, thus, primary classification.

The fourth classification of images compares areas and aspects of human life and experiences with the serpent and presents man in his relation to other men and to God. In other words, these images deal with man in a social and spiritual context. The first four classifications, then, proceed from aspects of man to the whole man and finally to man in a context.

The fifth classification includes images in which natural phenomena and man-made objects are compared to a serpent. Because the Romanticists present man as copying or imitating nature in his productions, this grouping is useful and valid.

Images in the sixth classification present the serpent as mere animal and as vivid detail in a description of the phenomenalist world. The serpent is not used to compare or describe man and his life but is presented as an inhabitant of a world appealing primarily to the senses.

It is necessary to stress at this point that the images are generally classified and treated for their descriptive, overt, obvious, and visible value. As nearly as possible, the images are analyzed in the light of what they state, not what they imply. The symbolic values in serpent imagery are discussed in another section. A study of the symbolism requires an interpretative approach, an examination of what the image implies rather than what it states, a search for the latent rather than the obvious meaning, a grasping of the invisible rather than the visible, and a preoccupation with the covert rather than the overt. Serpent imagery only is discussed in the present section.

The inclusion and discussion of all the serpent images in all these classifications would have resulted in a formidable and complex mass of data. Therefore, representative images have been selected and are discussed rather fully. The other images are referred to in footnotes. The images discussed are chosen for their originality and general effectiveness of idea or expression or of both. Some of them are particularly thought-provoking and stimulating. Others are dramatic, expressive, and forceful. The criteria, then, for selection and discussion of the images are origi-

nality and creativity of thought and/or expression, as opposed to popularity and conventionality.

For compactness and ease in contrasting and comparing the poets' uses of the serpent, all representative images falling into the same classification are discussed consecutively. In other words, the six poets are taken up chronologically. For example, all serpent images describing emotions are presented and discussed, beginning with Blake, continuing with Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, and ending with Keats. This order is followed throughout the presentation of the selected images in all other classifications as well. Mention will be made wherever any poet does not have an image fitting the particular classification under discussion.

#### *Serpent Imagery: Man's Emotions*

Serpent images describing the emotions are chosen because they reveal something of the essence and temperament of Romanticism and of the poets themselves. It is not surprising that the Romantics, aware of man's sensuous and sensual nature, should find the serpent so helpful in describing emotions, passions, and feelings. The poisonous viper is especially valuable to the Romantics in their descriptions of those physical and mental conditions which contribute to man's disintegration.

A close examination of Blake's serpent imagery yields no expressed comparison of an emotion to a serpent. Because serpent symbolism is treated later, a discussion of implied and covert meanings is avoided as much as possible in an analysis of the imagery. Yet, Blake's poetry is so highly symbolical that it is almost impossible to treat many of the images in a meaningful way without some consideration of the symbolism. This consideration makes it possible to choose the following image as representative of Blake's comparison of lust or sexual desire to a serpent. Urizen (Reason) prepares for war against Orc (Revolution), who in his human and, thus, divine form rebels against Urizen's repressive forces. Urizen sends Vala, his harlot, to calm Orc:

So Orc roll'd round his clouds upon the deeps of  
dark Urthona,  
Knowing the arts of Urizen were Pity & Meek affection  
And that by these arts the serpent form exuded  
from his limbs

Silent as despairing love & strong as jealousy,  
 Jealous that she was Vala, now become Urizen's

Harlot

And the Harlot of Los & the deluded harlot of the

Kings of the Earth,

His soul was gnawn in sunder.

*Vala, or The Four Zoas\**

Orc in his human and divine form rolls around on the clouds in the realm of Urthona, representing spiritual energy, one of the Four Zoas or Four Senses, which when in harmony develop the Eternal Man. Having warred for control of man, the Four Zoas or Four Senses are now residing in their own individual realms of the world of time and space. Vala finds Orc in Urthona's realm, which is deep, dark, and isolated. In her effort to mitigate Orc's fury, Vala expresses pity and meek affection or love. Even though Orc recognizes these assumed qualities as arts taught to her by Urizen, he is at the same time weakened by them. Desirous of Vala, he is jealous that she is the harlot of Urizen, Los, and other self-appointed kings on earth—all of whom have rejected divinity and unity for their own material world. Feeling himself vulnerable to the temptations of Vala and her lords, Orc identifies his lust with a serpent. However, he must not manifest his lust in violent actions but let it exude from his limbs as quietly as a hopeless love, even though it has the strength of jealousy. The conflict between desire for the attractions of Urizen's material world, on one hand, and resistance to his repressive forces, on the other, is so intense that Orc's soul is torn asunder.

Wordsworth uses the viper in a rather traditional manner when he compares a lover's remorse for his errors to the stings of a viper. Pushed into defiance of unfair laws which separated him from his loved one, a youth suffered and lay passively until remorse, like the stings of a viper, stirred him from his couch. Deploing man's unnatural laws which forced the youth into rebellion and greater crimes, Wordsworth illustrates in a tale the unhappiness arising from such conditions. The reader may learn

how the enamoured youth was driven,

By public power abased, to fatal crime,

Nature's rebellion against monstrous law;

How, between heart and heart, oppression thrust

\*Blake, William: Complete Poetry and Prose. Geoffrey Keynes, editor. 1956. *Vala, or the Four Zoas*, VII, b, p. 326. (All quotations are from this edition.) The other serpent images describing man's emotions: *Auguries of Innocence*. P. 119.

Her mandates, severing whom true love had  
 joined,  
 Harassing both; until he sank and pressed  
 The couch his fate had made for him; supine,  
 Save when the stings of viperous remorse,  
 Trying their strength, enforced him to start up,  
 Aghast and prayerless.

*The Prelude\**

These thoughts are in lamentation of the inhumanity abroad in France at the time of the French Revolution. Like all the other Romantic poets, Wordsworth stressed the rights of the individual and was aware of the suffering growing out of neglect of them. The mind of man is the glory of the world. Man is worthy of himself only when he realizes the dignity and power of which his mind is capable, owing to his essentially human endowment. This power is the fundamental assertion of the mind itself, genuine liberty, the full exercise of which is moral freedom and happiness. When deprived of this exercise of liberty, the individual is likely to rebel against unfair laws and, thus, become the victim of even greater suffering. The misfortune of the enamored youth exemplifies the evil which results when law takes precedence over the inherent rights of the individual.

Coleridge's image in which the child PAIN lifts his snakey scourge in vengeance against his mother ERROR is powerful and moving. According to the poet, the noblest province of man is

To rear some realm with patient discipline,  
 Aye bidding PAIN, dark ERROR's uncouth child,  
 Blameless Parenticide! his snakey scourge  
 Lift fierce against his Mother!

*The Destiny of Nations\*\**

The poet envisions a wonderful kingdom arising from the strength, patience, and discipline of a race of people who refuse to let their mistakes and suffering enervate and destroy them. Coleridge may be associating error with understanding, which he and the other Romantics felt is inadequate in grasping truth. Man's re-

\*Wordsworth, William: Complete Poetical Works. Student's Cambridge Edition. 1904. *The Prelude*, IX, ll. 569-78. (All quotations are from this edition.)

\*\*Coleridge, Samuel Taylor: Complete Poetical Works, Ernest Hartley Coleridge, editor. *The Destiny of Nations*, I, p. 136, Variant II. 123-26. (All quotations are from this edition.) The other serpent images describing man's emotions: *Love's Apparition and Evanishment*, I, p. 489, l. 4. *The Nose*, I, p. 9, l. 31. *Zapolya*, II, Part II. III, i, l. 249.



liance upon the senses and the faculty of understanding results in experience only, not truth, and leaves man disillusioned and hurt. ERROR, fumbling in the dark, gives birth to PAIN; understanding, incapable of finding its way through the shadow world of reality to the clear, light world of ideality, leads human nature to ruin. How commendable that a nation would recognize its mistakes and take up arms against them rather than become cowed and destroyed by them. ERROR, causing much misery, should be treated like an unfeeling and unconscientious mother, who deserves punishment at the hands of her child, made uncouth and disobedient through suffering and mistreatment. PAIN, like the abused child, knows no filial love for ERROR, who is responsible for its misery and like a bludgeoned child is justified in killing its parent ERROR with a vengeance as violent as that of the snaky-haired Gorgons. For greatest effectiveness and full impact, the image should be read aloud. The labored phrasing, awkward syntax, and harsh sounds reinforce the violence of the idea of a child's revenge against its parent or of PAIN's scourging with snakes its mother ERROR.

A self-admitted "fool of passion," Byron reveals something of his temperament in an image in which man's passions are described as serpents finding their way to the liver, where they lodge and thrive. Anatomizing the body and explaining philosophically the physiological functions of its parts, the poet traces all mischief to man's liver, which he labels as a lazaret or storehouse:

The liver is the lazaret of bile,  
 But very rarely executes its function,  
 For the first passion stays there such a while,  
 That all the rest creep in and form a junction,  
 Life [Like] knots of vipers on a dunghill's soil,—  
 Rage, fear, hate, jealousy, revenge, compunction,—  
 So that all mischiefs spring up from this entrail,  
 Like earthquakes from the hidden fire called 'central.'

*Don Juan\**

\*Byron, Lord George Gordon: *Complete Poetical Works*. Student's Cambridge Edition, 1933. *Don Juan*, II, cxxv. (All quotations are from this edition.) The other serpent images describing man's emotions: *Cain*, III, i, ll. 383-84. *Don Juan*, IV, lxi. *Manfred*, I, i, ll. 236-37. *The Giaour*, p. 322, ll. 1194-95. *Werner; Or, the Inheritance*, I, i, ll. 165-66; II, i, ll. 277-80; III, i, ll. 184-85.

For a more authoritative *Don Juan*, slightly different from the Student's Cambridge Edition, see the recent four-volume edition of W. W. Pratt and T. G. Steffan, *Byron's "Don Juan,"* (1957). In this edition, "Life knots" is "Like knots." See the explanation in Pratt's volume four.

The liver fails to function properly in releasing its storage of bile for causing important changes in the blood stream necessary for man's good health. Taking advantage of this physical weakness, the first passion makes its way to the liver and establishes a lodging, thus turning the liver into a lazaret, where all other passions like diseased and impoverished lepers creep in and live, thriving in the darkness, dampness, stagnation, and foulness just as vipers thrive in the soil of a dunghill. These passions—rage, fear, hate, jealousy, revenge, compunction—are squirming knots of vipers, all in junction to secure control of man, but in their struggle to achieve dominance fight among themselves, inciting man to outward manifestations like earthquakes whose source is a raging fire hidden deep within the earth.

Even though the snake-eagle image is a conventional one and appears several times in Shelley's poetry, he makes an original and effective use of it in *Alastor*, where he describes a frustrated lover and his attempts to find his loved one. The mad pursuit of the lover, probably Shelley himself, driven by an anguished desire for the veiled Lady, Ideal Love, is no less frenzied than the precipitous flight of an eagle in escaping from the poisonous folds of a serpent:

As an eagle grasped  
In folds of the green serpent, feels her breast  
Burn with the poison, and precipitates  
Through night and day, tempest, and calm,  
and cloud,  
Frantic with dizzying anguish, her blind flight  
O'er the wide aery wilderness: thus driven  
By the bright shadow of that lovely dream,  
Beneath the cold glare of the desolate night  
Through tangled swamps and deep precipitous dells,  
Starting with careless step the moonlight snake,  
He fled.

*Alastor\**

Momentarily the reader interprets the simile as a comparison of the lover with the eagle and of the veiled lady with the serpent. However, this analogy breaks down when one discovers that the

\*Shelley, Percy Bysshe: *Complete Poetical Works*. Thomas Hutchinson, editor. *Alastor*, p. 20, ll. 226-37. (All quotations are from this edition.) The other serpent images describing man's emotions: *Music*, p. 657, ll. 9-10. *Oedipus Tyrannus*, p. 402, ll. 74-75. *Prince Athanase*, p. 161, ll. 121-23. *The Revolt of Islam*, II, iv, ll. 699-702; VIII, xxi, ll. 3385-87; X, xxxii, ll. 4076-78; XI, xxv, ll. 4442-43; XII, vii, ll. 4504-06.

eagle and the lover are fleeing in opposite directions. The eagle tries frantically to escape the serpent's constricting and poisonous folds and, thus, catapults through space away from the serpent. The lover, on the other hand, tries frantically to go toward the veiled lady and be enveloped by her arms. Another point of contrast is that the paralyzing and poisonous folds of the serpent are offensive to the eagle; whereas, the embracing arms of the veiled lady and their power to inflame the lover's breast are desirable. Therefore, the analogy lies not between the eagle and the serpent, on one hand, and the lover and the veiled lady, on the other, but between the serpent's poison and its effect on the eagle, and anguished desire and its effect on the lover. The serpent's poison burns the eagle's breast and pains so severely that the eagle catapults through the heavens; desire for the veiled lady burns the lover's breast so consumingly that he dashes madly and erratically about in pursuit of her. Poisoned with anguished desire, the lover behaves in the same frantic manner as the eagle poisoned by the serpent.

Shelley's use of green as the color of the snake intensifies its poisoning power and suggests the lover's jealousy and possessiveness, which blind his reason and lead him carelessly through tangled swamps and precipitous dells. Another bit of evidence to indicate that the analogy lies between poison and its effect on the eagle and anguished desire and its effect on the lover is Shelley's use of the pronoun "her" to refer to the eagle. If the poet had intended the comparison of the eagle and lover, he might have used the masculine gender "his." Even though the use of the pronoun "her" avoids this problem, it produces another in that it creates a conflict for the reader by momentarily tricking him into a temptation to equate the eagle with the veiled lady, or Ideal Love, who scorns the ground and contact with all earthly life and soars as does the eagle in an effort to escape the serpent. Tempting as it might be to compare the eagle and the lover or the eagle and the veiled lady, the complete image will not sustain either analogy but instead restricts the comparison to a simple but effective equation of poison and its effect on the eagle with anguished desire and its effect on the lover. Presumptuousness dares to suggest that an eagle of no gender would have been more consonant with the total concept of the image. Sexualization is more effective

when left to the imagination of the individual, who is then free to project, identify, or empathize his own feelings.

Emphasizing the sensuous quality of poetry, Keats found the muscular movement of the serpent fascinating. Comparison of agony and other enervating emotions to a serpent is a conventional image in the poetry of the Romantics, but one to which Keats adds a refreshing touch. The poet succeeds in using the serpent to describe both the emotional and physical states. The body, under the control of transforming serpent-agony, becomes a serpent, too. Such complete subjection of the physical to the emotional results in a stimulating image. Hyperion, incensed at and suffering from the ejection of Saturn and the Titans from Mt. Olympus, resolves to reinstate his leader:

... through all his bulk and agony  
Crept gradual, from the feet unto the crown,  
Like a lithe serpent vast and muscular  
Making slow way with head and neck convuls'd  
From over-strained might.

*Hyperion\**

Frequently the Romantic poets describe emotions, passions, or feelings as serpents wreathed about the head proclaiming man's guilt, entwined around and stifling the heart, wrapped about the body in constricting and paralyzing folds, or insidiously secreted in some concealed part of the body, where they torture and enervate man into a bestial condition without pride, care, or self-respect. In Keats' image, agony is a large, angry serpent straining and pushing itself forward, tensing and swelling its neck and head in effort, transforming Hyperion's bulky body into a long, lithe serpent muscling itself from feet to head in fierce determination. Thus, Keats' presentation of agony as a serpent forcing its way through the entire length of Hyperion's body and, thereby, evoking a physical reaction mirroring his emotional state is vivid and forceful.

#### *Serpent Imagery: Man's Physical and Mental Attributes*

A discussion of serpent images in the description of human beings continues with the following selections which deal with

\*Keats, John: *Poetical Works*. H. W. Garrod, editor. 1956. *Hyperion*, I, ll. 259-63. (All quotations are from this edition.) The other serpent images describing man's emotions: *Endymion*, II, ll. 873-75; III, ll. 239-40; IV, ll. 66-71; IV, ll. 751-54. *Hyperion*, II, ll. 44-49. *Lamia*, I, ll. 131-33. *The Cap and Bells*, XXXVIII.



specific mental and physical attributes, namely, reason, cogitations, thoughts, a frown, conscience, breath, and a glance. Even though comparison of these attributes with a serpent is rather familiar, the Romantic poets strip away the familiarity and reveal many exciting, strange, and sometimes startling ideas.

Blake sees thought, or analytic reason, transforming the infinite into a serpent, an image discussed later in areas and aspects of human life and experience. Reason not only has the power to change other things into serpents; it is itself a serpent, constricting and paralyzing man. Seeing Albion lying cold and in a death-like sleep induced by the dulling and deadening effects of reason, which haunts like a spectre, Blake pleads for help to free Albion:

O Divine Spirit! sustain me on thy wings,  
That I may awake Albion from his long & cold repose!  
For Bacon & Newton, sheath'd in dismal steel, their  
terrors hang

Like iron scourges over Albion. Reasonings like vast  
serpents

Infold around my limbs, bruising my minute articu-  
lations.

*Jerusalem\**

The poet conceives of the Divine Spirit as having wings and floating above the earth, but sees serpent-reason grounded to the earth, where it in turn grounds man. Albion lies stretched out in a sleep of stupor, forced to remain there because the errors of Bacon's rational philosophy and Newton's mathematical demonstrations are poised above his body like cold, drab steel ready to assault him should he move. Knowing himself vulnerable to the constrictions and scourges of the same serpent-reason, the poet appeals to the Divine Spirit to support him on its wings while he tries to awaken Albion and free him from the paralysis induced by serpent-reason. The spirit cut off from divinity, the poet agonizes in the coils of serpent-reason and in this state cannot apprehend truth and give it accurate and complete expression. Serpent-reason is mechanical, imperfect, and analytical; the intuitive imagination is spontaneous, perfect, and synthetical. Serpent-reason fetters; imagination frees.

\**Jerusalem*, I, 15, p. 449. The other serpent images describing man's physical and mental attributes: *Europe*, p. 212. *Jerusalem*, II, 40, p. 482. *Milton*, I, 13, p. 388. *The Book of Ahania*, III, p. 237. *The Book of Los*, IV, p. 245. *The Everlasting Gospel*, 2e, p. 141. *Tiriel*, 6, p. 159; 8, p. 161. *Vala, or The Four Zoas*, V, p. 295.

Stressing a spiritual and mental life, Wordsworth builds a reflective image on a war-worn chieftain, who quits the world to go into seclusion, where his cogitations, like ivy, bind him in serpentine strictures:

. . . within his cell,  
Round the decaying trunk of human pride,  
At morn, and eve, and midnight's silent hour,  
Do penitential cogitations cling;  
Like ivy, round some ancient elm, they twine  
In grisly folds and strictures serpentine.

*Ecclesiastical Sonnets\**

The warrior relinquishes a physical, energetic, and active life for a spiritual and mental one. Lance, sword, and shield are put aside. Hands empty, thoughts fill the mind. Youth is spent in action; age is spent reflecting on and evaluating those actions. Retreating from the battlefield, the arena for the body's expression, the weary chieftain seeks the quietness and privacy of the forest depths or the cloister, where in penitence his thoughts dwell on the futility of war, vanity of life, and fragility of body. The chieftain, old and unproductive in body, is like an old elm tree. Past fruition, both stiffen and solidify into supports, around which thoughts and ivy cling. These thoughts, once hard and aggressive but now soft and penitent, are pliable and flexible like ivy and wrap themselves into convolute, constricting, and serpentine folds about man. The body wasted, the mind controls. The thoughts are no longer dynamic, enterprising, and progressive but are static, fixed, and retrogressive. Life in cloistered privacy permits no new experiences but only a reflection on the past. Life for the old warrior is contemplation without action; existence for the old elm is vegetation without fruition. Even though thoughts and ivy bind and restrict like serpents, they bring a reward in that both provide their own bower to which man can retreat to reflect on and spiritualize his actions and experiences.

In a completely different vein, Coleridge banishes thoughts, which he, too, compares to serpents coiling around his mind. The poet laments the loss of the faculty of response from within to the beauty of the natural world and of that "shaping spirit of Imagination" which nature gave him at birth. Thoughts as vipers

\**Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, I, xxi. ll. 7-12. The other serpent images describing man's physical and mental attributes: *Ode*: 1816, p. 543, ll. 146-48. *Sonnets upon the Punishment of Death*, VI. *The Excursion*, III, ll. 850-52.

coiling about the mind constitute a typical Romantic protest against a world impoverished by reason, which, because limited, perceives only the physical world, a shadow—a dark dream—of the ideal world lying beyond, penetrable only by the intuitive imagination. Realizing his impoverished condition and striving to recapture the spell of nature, he commands:

Hence, viper thoughts, that coil around my mind,  
Reality's dark dream!

*Dejection: An Ode\**

Bowed by afflictions, the poet cares not that they have robbed him of his mirth but despairs that each visitation dulls his most precious faculty, the imagination, nature's gift. However dull and stifling life may be, imagination enables man to transcend these limitations of the physical world and to catch glimpses of the spiritual world. Afflictions force upon man an awareness of the body enclosed and constricted by reality. With the mind subordinated to the body, man's imagination is stifled by earth-bound thoughts. Man's tendency to reason and to destroy with the meddling intellect is like a serpent which constricts and strangles his intuitive imaginative power.

Byron's image deals with the hypnotic power of the serpent's eye rather than its ability to constrict and strangle. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, Greece was involved in a fierce struggle for independence. Byron's love for Greece rendered him helplessly vulnerable to her suffering. Any frown or expression of pain or grief was unbearable to the sympathetic poet and was as paralyzing to him as the adder's eye to its victim, the frail bird. Proud, indomitable, arrogant, and revengeful, Byron and his Byronic heroes generally pride themselves on being like serpents, stinging only when stung and inspiring fear and awe in their offenders. So when in the following image the poet plays the role of a poor bird paralyzed into complete submission and at the mercy of the adder's hypnotic eye, the reversal provides a stimulating contrast which verges on being humorous, provided one can forget the seriousness of his love for Greece even to the extent of

\**Dejection: An Ode*, I, p. 367, ll. 94-95. The other serpent images describing man's physical and mental attributes: *Christabel*, I, p. 229, ll. 442-43; p. 233, ll. 583-87. *Parliamentary Oscillators*, I, p. 212, ll. 15-16. *Religious Musings*, I, p. 119, l. 286. *Remorse*, II, III, ii, ll. 81-82. *Sancti Dominici Pallium*, I, p. 448, ll. 7-9. *Sonnet*, I, p. 393, ll. 5-6. *To a Young Lady*, I, p. 66, l. 42.

losing his life in her struggle for independence. The poet confesses:

I am a fool of passion, and a frown  
Of thine to me is an adder's eye.  
To the poor bird whose pinion fluttering down  
Wafts unto death the breast it bore so high;  
Such is this maddening fascination grown,  
So strong thy magic or so weak am I.

*Last Words on Greece\**

His love for Greece is so great that with her smile the poet can soar to great heights but with her frown he falls limply to the ground. He is like a poor bird hypnotized into helplessness by the adder's magic gaze. Its wings, which carry the bird to great heights, now flap and beat in much agitation but without transporting it. Under the spell of the serpent's eye, the bird, unable to fly to safety, falls to the ground, where death awaits it. The poet's love for Greece has turned into a fascination, devoid of all reason and sense. Thus, when the beloved country frowns, he, too, is helpless, whether from her power to fascinate him or from his own weakness. The poet's passion may be equated with the bird's pinion: both enable their possessors to soar to great heights, on one hand, but, on the other, losing their control waft them to an equal depth. Byron's confession that he is "a fool of passion" may very well be a terse but laconic creed of all the Romantic poets, stressing the importance of feeling in a phenomenalist world of many sensuous pleasures, yet realizing that passion in excess renders man twice victimized—by the object inspiring the passion and by the passion itself.

An effective illustration of the images dealing with man's physical and mental attributes is Shelley's comparison of a relentless conscience to a serpent. Queen Mab has rescued the Spirit of Ianthe from the body's grave and taken her to an ethereal home above the earth. Looking down at the world of man as she speaks to Ianthe, Queen Mab enumerates the evils which plague and

\**Last Words on Greece*, p. 206. The other serpent images describing man's physical and mental attributes: *Cain*, I, i, ll. 34-35; I, i, ll. 399-90. *Don Juan*, III, xlviii, ll. 379-80; IV, xlviii, l. 381; IV, xlvii, ll. 381-82. *Heaven and Earth*, I, i, ll. 126-28. *Maeppa*, p. 412, ll. 533-36. *Sardanapalus*, II, i, ll. 165-66. *The Bride of Abydos*, p. 325, ll. 158-61. *The Deformed Transformed*, I, i, ll. 38-39; I, ii, ll. 805-06; I, ii, ll. 807-08; I, ii, ll. 857-58; III, i, ll. 107-08. *The Giaour*, p. 318, ll. 842-45; p. 319, ll. 896-98. *The Island*, p. 434, ll. 336-38.



weaken man. Among these evils are his emphasis on pride, wealth, power, and custom. Expressing Shelley's views, Queen Mab is scornful of the king whose efforts to appease an insatiable appetite enslave his poor subjects. Having eaten and drunk himself into a stupor, the king lies sleeping on a gorgeous couch until

'conscience, that undying serpent,  
calls

Her venomous brood to their nocturnal task.'

*Queen Mab\**

Conscience and her brood cause the king so much agony that he prays for the peace which accompanies poverty.

Keats' rather heavy reliance on classical mythology may explain in part the conventionality of many of the serpent images in his poetry. Keats and the other Romantic poets steeped in mythology appear to have been fascinated by the cockatrice or basilisk. This mythical creature is said to be hatched by a reptile from a cock's egg and is represented as killing its victim, at times by emitting a deadly vapor, and at others by casting a fatal glance. This power which made the basilisk or cockatrice a formidable foe was rendered ineffective, however, if the intended victim saw it first. In *Otho the Great*, Ludolph finds himself in this advantageous position. Instead of succumbing to Albert's fatal glance, Ludolph, knowing that he has caught the other's evil eye first and thereby rendered it ineffective, gloats in his reproach of Albert:

O Cockatrice,

I have you. Whither wander those fair eyes

To entice the Devil to your help . . . ?

*Otho the Great\*\**

Ethelbert, a character in the same drama, is also aware of the power of the cockatrice. He queries of himself why he hesitates to reveal the names of Auranthe and Conrad, whom he calls vipers because of their venomous action against Princess Erminia:

\**Queen Mab*, p. 771, ll. 61-62. The other serpent images describing man's physical and mental attributes: *Adonais*, p. 436, l. 196; p. 440, ll. 329-30. *Charles the First*, I, ll. 127-28. *Fragment: A Serpent Face*, p. 633. *Ode to Liberty*, p. 608, ll. 218-21. *Prometheus Unbound*, I, l. 632; III, iv, ll. 15-19. *The Cenci*, V, iii, ll. 136-37. *The Revolt of Islam*, IV, xix, l. 1584; V, xxv, l. 1941.

\*\**Otho the Great*, V, ii, ll. 6-8, and III, ii, ll. 152-55. The other serpent images describing man's physical and mental attributes: *Endymion*, III, ll. 529-31. *Otho the Great*, V, iv, l. 12. *The Fall of Hyperion*, I, ll. 446-47.

Yet why do I delay to spread abroad  
 The name of those two vipers from whose jaws  
 A deadly breath went forth to taint and blast  
 This guileless lady?

*Otho the Great\**

Even though Ethelbert does not call them basilisks or cockatrices, he implies this identification by attributing to them a breath which tainted and blasted a lady's innocence. Ability to kill one's victim with a single glance of the eye or a blast of the breath is an enviable power when one finds himself cornered with his foe. However unoriginal in presentation, the idea of such power at one's command is inherently captivating to all persons, each of whom at some time in life imagines or wishes himself capable of vanquishing his foe with one masterful and irrevocable gesture.

#### *Serpent Imagery: The Whole Man*

The Romantic poets frequently portray the whole nature of man as viperous; or if not viperous by nature, he is caught up in a circumstance transforming him into a snake, or feels himself born into a world of paltry conditions which make his lot no better than that of reptiles. Stressing the necessity of individual freedom, the Romantics often equate with snakes all foes of liberty, particularly tyrants, kings, and priests, who plague and penalize men with restraints and restrictions. Other human beings who in some way are blemishes upon the earth are also compared to serpents.

The serpent in Blake's imagery plays a major and exciting role. One of the poet's common themes is man's loss of divinity. Because for Blake the human and the divine forms are identical, man's separation from divinity results in a transformation from the human form to the serpent. Thus, when Orc falls under the power of Urizen in his creation of a world of time and space as opposed to an eternal world, he becomes a serpent valuing only the material world for its sensuous appeal. Preparing for war initiated by Jesus in an attempt to regenerate man, Urizen observes that Orc is changing into a serpent and is among his allies:

\**Otho the Great*, V, ii, ll. 6-8, and III, ii, ll. 152-55. The other serpent images describing man's physical and mental attributes: *Endymion*, III, ll. 529-31; *Otho the Great*, V, iv, l. 12. *The Fall of Hyperion*, I, ll. 446-47.

. . . for Ore augmented swift  
 In fury, a Serpent wondrous, among the Constellations  
 of Urizen.  
 A crest of fire rose on his forehead, red as the  
 carbuncle;  
 Beneath, down to his eyelids, scales of pearl;  
 then gold & silver,  
 Immingled with the ruby, overspread his Visage; down  
 His furious neck, writhing contortive in dire budding  
 pains,  
 The scaly armour shot out. Stubborn down his back &  
 bosom,  
 The Emerald, Onyx, Sapphire, jasper, beryl, amethyst  
 Strove in terrific emulation which should gain a  
 place  
 Upon the mighty Fiend—the fruit of the mysterious  
 tree  
 Kneaded in Uveth's kneading trough. Still Ore devour'd  
 the food  
 In raging hunger. Still the pestilential food in gems  
 & gold  
 Exuded around his awful limbs, Stretching to serpent  
 length  
 His human bulk, While the dark shadowy female,  
 brooding over,  
 Measur'd his food, morning & evening in cups & baskets  
 of iron.

*The Four Zoas\**

The atmosphere is tense and fraught with color, movement, fury, pain, and greed. The image is a riot of color—red, pearl, gold, silver, ruby, green, black, blue, yellow, brown, and purple—each

\**The Four Zoas*, VIII, p. 333.

Blake's opulent serpent is astonishingly similar to Milton's serpent as it moved toward Eve,

his Head  
 Crested aloft, and Carbuncle his Eyes;  
 With burnisht Neck of verdant Gold, . . .

*Paradise Lost*, IX, ll. 449-501

Blake's other serpent images describing the whole man: *America*, p. 201; p. 203; p. 204; p. 207. *Jerusalem*, I, 14, p. 448; II, 49, p. 495; III, 54, p. 501; III, 55, pp. 501-02. *Milton*, I, 5, p. 379; I, 13, p. 388. *The Book of Ahania*, IV, p. 239. *The First Book of Urizen*, VI, p. 229; IX, p. 233. *The Song of Los*, p. 248; p. 250. *Tiriel*, I, p. 151; 4, p. 156; 4, p. 158; 6, p. 158; 8, p. 160. *Fala, or The Four Zoas*, I, p. 266; II, pp. 269-70; VI, pp. 303-04; VIIa, p. 313; VIIb, pp. 325-26; VIIb, p. 328; VIII, p. 341; VIII, p. 342; VIII, p. 344; IX, p. 348; IX, p. 349; IX, p. 349.

vying to outdo the others. The words and phrases "augmented swift," "rose," "overspread," "shot out," and "strove" characterize the movement as violent, sudden, and competitive. The "neck, writhing contortive in dire budding pains" lends to the effect of struggle and suffering. The gems stubbornly striving "in terrific emulation" repeat the theme of conflict and intensify the struggle. Just as Urizen and Orc fight for the preservation of their position in the material world, so the gems strive for an enviable position among the material splendor of Orc's body. The phrase "red as the carbuncle" is rich in denotative and connotative meanings of color, stone, and pain. The pearl, gold, silver, ruby, emerald, onyx, sapphire, jasper, beryl, and amethyst are not only the attire in which Urizen dresses Orc as a convert to the material world but also food for his voracious appetite.

Only a trough is large enough to hold food for Orc's insatiate appetite, whetted by the material world. Here, Uveth, daughter of Urizen, kneads the fruit taken from her father's tree. Stretching his serpent-length along the ground, Orc devours the food until it exudes from his body. Thus, his insatiable appetite has converted his whole body into the food it craves so much. "The dark shadowy female," a handmaiden in the service of Urizen, measures Orc's food in cups and baskets, which are made of iron as inflexible and unyielding as the reason of Urizen. Only baskets are suitable for serving large quantities of food to a ravenous serpent. The word "brooding" further characterizes the reluctance of "the dark shadowy female" to execute a task which Urizen's daughters have assigned to her.

Wordsworth makes an interesting use of Hercules' experience with the snakes surrounding his cradle to describe France's experience with her foes:

... the Invaders fared as they deserved:  
The Herculean Commonwealth had put forth  
her arms  
And throttled with an infant godhead's might  
The snakes about her cradle.

*The Prelude\**

Before Hercules was a year old, he revealed his greatness of soul and strength in the face of danger. Furious that Alcmena bore

\**The Prelude*, X, ll. 390-93. The other serpent images describing the whole man: *The Armenian Lady's Love*, XV. *The Borderers*, I, l. 527; III, ll. 121-22, III, ll. 288-91; III, ll. 445-49.



Hercules to Zeus, Hera, determined to kill the infant, began her revenge by sending two snakes crawling into the nursery where Hercules and his brother slept. The serpents, with weaving heads and flickering tongues, reared themselves over the cradle and awoke the infants. Unlike Iphicles, who screamed and scrambled to flee, Hercules grasped the serpents by the throat and killed them even though they were entwined about his body. Such bravery and strength characterized his entire life spent in defeating Hera's challenges. Love and sympathy for the youthful France in her struggle for freedom suggested to the idealistic Wordsworth the vast strength, unflinching courage, and supreme self-confidence which rendered Hercules invulnerable to all defeat except by the supernatural. Like the serpents who without right invaded the nursery where Hercules slept, the reactionary powers of Europe invaded France in 1792 and were joined by England in 1793. France, however, in 1802 defeated her enemies in her struggle for establishing freedom and other popular liberties. Under Napoleon, France had strangled the feudal strongholds of Europe, if only temporarily. Thus, the Herculean Commonwealth had triumphed over the serpent invaders.

The Greeks' choice of a soulless butterfly to represent a soul provides Coleridge with an interesting contrast between its lot, which is delightful, and man's, which is reptile:

The butterfly the ancient Grecians made  
The soul's fair emblem, and its only name—  
But of the soul, escaped the slavish trade  
Of mortal life!—For in this earthly frame  
Ours is the reptile's lot, much toil, much blame,  
Manifold motions making little speed,  
And to deform and kill the things whereon we feed.

*Psyche\**

It is ironical that the existence of the butterfly, which has no soul, is more pleasant than that of man, who has a soul. Lacking a

\**Psyche*, I, p. 412. The other serpent images describing the whole man: *Christabel*, I, p. 233, l. 571. *Epigrams*, No. 25, II, p. 959; No. 26, II, p. 959. *Osorio*, II, III, ll. 213-15. *Religious Musings*, I, p. 119, ll. 274-76. *Remorse*, II, III, ii, ll. 96-98. *The Death of Wallenstein*, II, II, vi, ll. 54-56; II, III, vii, ll. 43-45. *The Destiny of Nations*, I, p. 144, l. 398; I, l. 146, ll. 435-39. *The Devil's Thoughts*, I, p. 320, ll. 9-12. *The Fall of Robespierre*, II, I, ll. 25-28; II, II, ll. 264-67. *Two Round Spaces on the Tombstone*, I, p. 355, l. 19. *Zapolya*, II, Part I, i, ll. 60-61; II, Part I, i, ll. 89-90; II, Part II, I, i, l. 176; II, Part II, I, i, ll. 258-59; II, Part II, I, i, l. 182; II, Part II, I, i, l. 234; II, Part II, i, ll. 11-12; II, Part II, IV, i, ll. 76-77.

soul and free to flit and soar, the butterfly escapes the enslavement to which man is subject. Man's soul is lodged in a body, earthbound and impeded like the serpent's. He must crawl and feel his way about, risking his life to the desires, demands, and dislikes of others. Like the serpent whose many sinuous movements carry him short distances and with difficulty, man writhes, advances, retreats, deviates, making a great stir but little progress. He, too, like the serpent, incurs hatred and scorn. The butterfly feeds on the pollen of plants and flowers, satisfying its needs but leaving no blemish; serpent and man, on the other hand, are predatory and must harm and destroy in order to eat. The poet seems to imply regret that man's physical frame, like the serpent's, is earthbound and enslaves him; he does not regret, however, that man has a soul. The sad thing is to have a body which subjects one's soul to conditions fit only for a reptile.

Byron, on the other hand, succeeds in making the reptile an almost enviable creature. Conrad, the Corsair, a typically Byronic hero with a consuming passion to wreak vengeance on an unsympathetic and hateful world, is like a serpent, whom man may hate but will treat with deference. Like the venomous snake, the Corsair may expire in the struggle but not before he has dealt his death sting:

Man spurns the worm, but pauses ere he wake  
The slumbering venom of the folded snake:  
The first may turn, but not avenge the blow;  
The last expires, but leaves no living foe;  
Fast to the doom'd offender's form it clings,  
And he may crush—not conquer—still it stings!

*The Corsair\**

With no fear of retaliation, man may contemptuously or carelessly crush the worm or thrust it to the side of the path, intent on pursuing his own way of life without interruption or hindrance. An unexpected worm at one's feet does not frighten or provoke but is impulsively and automatically brushed aside. Discovering the coiled serpent in his pathway, however, man is confronted with

\**The Corsair*, I, xi, ll. 275-80. The other serpent images describing the whole man: *A Sketch*, p. 208, ll. 47-50. *Cain*, I, i, ll. 398-410; II, i, ll. 172-73; II, ii, ll. 300-07. *Heaven and Earth*, I, iii, ll. 856-59. *Marino Faliero*, III, ii, ll. 147-50; V, i, ll. 465-66. *The Deformed Transformed*, I, i, l. 259; I, i, ll. 26-27. *The Irish Avatar*, p. 203, ll. 97-100. *The Prophecy of Dante*, I, ll. 63-68. *Verses Found in a Summer-House at Hales-Owen*, p. 171. *Werner; Or, the Inheritance*, I, i, ll. 83-88; II, ii, ll. 395-96; II, ii, ll. 447-59.

a danger which must be handled cautiously and with deference. The coils are a reservoir of potential power enabling the snake to strike farther. Within this reservoir is venom, which though slumbering is deadly. The worm may, by moving, show some annoyance at being disturbed but because it has no power to avenge secures its life; the snake, on the other hand, has the power to avenge the blow but loses its life. Expressed paradoxically, the worm's weakness is its strength; the snake's strength is its weakness. Man may crush the serpent but fails to conquer, in that the poisonous serpent while dying is still able to inflict reciprocal death on its offender. The worm lives, but its offender lives, too. Man conquers the worm without crushing but crushes the serpent without conquering. The Corsair, perhaps Byron himself, disdains life secured through weakness. Death demanding deference is more desirable than life begging for mercy. So it is with a degree of pride that the Corsair, and possibly Byron, identify themselves with the serpent, inspiring awe and demanding respect, rather than with the worm, soliciting only mercy.

One of the most effective images in which man himself is compared to the serpent or in some way is related to the serpent is that portraying kings and their vanity and despotism. An interesting observation is Shelley's apparent fascination with the association of king and sand. The king in his desire to perpetuate his name and deeds erects monuments of stone on the desert. In his determination to leave an impression on the world, he selects stone, which like himself is hard and unrelenting, possessing power to impress but with little capacity to receive impressions. The desert sand, on the other hand, is soft and yielding and is the most impressionable of elements. It is ironical, however, that the quality of sand which renders it impressionable also prevents its retaining impressions. Even more ironical is the fact that Ozymandias in his determination to leave a constant and permanent mark on the world would choose a foundation as shifting, inconstant, and impermanent as sand on which to erect stone monuments in tribute to himself. The poem *Ozymandias* illustrates effectively the contrast between the vanity of kings and the world's disregard of such vanity. The silence and undisturbed demeanor of the long stretches of sand into the distance express the desert sand's scorn for vanity's imperious demands. Although this poem contains no serpent imagery, it contributes to the idea that Shelley

found the association of king, stone, and sand interesting and serves to heighten the effectiveness of the king-serpent-sand image in the following discussion.

Shelley denounces in the name of liberty even the name "king." His suggestion for the extinction of the word is that it be written lightly in the sand and thus be erased from the earth just as the serpent's trail vanishes when the air stirs:

Oh, that the free would stamp the impious name  
Of King into the dust! or write it there,  
So that this blot upon the page of fame  
Were as a serpent's path, which the light air  
Erases, the flat sands close behind!

*Ode to Liberty\**

Since the poet conceives of a king as cold and creeping, it is particularly appropriate that he think of the name "king" written in the sand as sinuous and tenuous as the serpent's trail, which the faintest breath of air disperses, leveling the sand to a long and vacant stretch, unresponsive and blank.

Representing Keats' use of the serpent to depict man's whole nature is his image of the mythological Circe, a beguiling and bewitching woman of evil power. Glaucus tells Endymion how Circe enchanted him into forgetting Scylla, his ideal love. He portrays Circe as a malevolent snake, who charms and transforms man into a bestial condition. When Glaucus went to search for Circe, who had slipped from his side during sleep, he found her bewitching her followers into abject submission, turning them into a groveling, whining, and squirming pack of wizards and brutes. As Glaucus approached,

Groanings swell'd,  
Poisonous about my ears, and louder grew,  
The nearer I approach'd a flame's gaunt blue,  
That glar'd before me through a thorny brake.  
This fire, like the eye of the gordian snake,  
Bewitch'd me towards; and I soon was near  
A sight too fearful for the feel of fear:

\**Ode to Liberty*, p. 608, ll. 211-15. The other serpent images describing the whole man: *Adonais*, p. 437, ll. 236-40; p. 438, ll. 248-51. *Charles the First*, II, l. 212. *Julian and Maddalo*, p. 198, ll. 398-400. *Ode to Naples*, p. 618, ll. 83-84; p. 619, ll. 111-13. *Prometheus Unbound*, III, i, ll. 70-74. *Similes for Two Political Characters of 1819*, p. 573, l. 20. *The Cenci*, I, ll. 165-66; IV, iv, ll. 15-16; V, ii, ll. 27-28. *The Revolt of Islam*, I, xxix, ll. 383-84; I, xxxiii, ll. 420-23; II, xlvi, l. 1080; V, vii, ll. 1774-77; X, vii, ll. 3853-55. *To Edward Williams*, p. 644, l. 1.



In thicket hid I curs'd the haggard scene—  
 The banquet of my arms, my arbour queen,  
 Seated upon an uptorn forest root;  
 And all around her shapes, wizard and brute,  
 Laughing, and wailing, groveling, serpentine,  
 Showing tooth, tusk, and venom-bag, and sting!

*Endymion\**

The whole scene is a graphic and disturbing drama of evil and its destructive power. The laughter is hysterical and demoniacal, the wailing and groaning arise from suffering and agony such as poison induces, groveling suggests destitution and abjectness, and the serpent-like writhing connotes sensuality. All life is at war with life, displaying its weapons—tooth, tusk, venom-bag, and stinger. The glare of a "flame's gaunt blue," "a thorny brake," the "fire-like eye of the gordian snake," "an uptorn forest root"—all conjure up an eerie atmosphere. All of nature is under the power of the supernatural. Glaucus' memory of Circe as his arbor queen whom he held in his arms and feasted upon as if at a banquet contrasts with this haggard scene, benumbing in its fearfulness.

These images dealing with human nature as serpent-like are expressions of idealists who lament that man has created a world of pain and ugliness because he has failed to exercise his intuitive imagination and, thus, lost touch with the spiritual world of which he is a part. Loss of identity with the divinity pervading all nature transforms men into predatory beasts. Man, then, has created a human world of suffering in contrast to nature's world of contentment.

#### *Serpent Imagery: Areas and Aspects of Man's Life and Experiences*

The serpent images dealing with areas and aspects of human life and experiences are varied and extensive in range. The serpent is used, for example, in depiction of the infinite, the future coiled in sleep, an avenging Fury misguiding a cannon ball, Vice as a hydra surrounded by gaping youth, a victim under the rich man's foot, and the Spirit of Good.

Blake's image in which he deplores the power of thought to reduce the infinite to a finite serpent is stimulating and thought-

\**Endymion*, III, ll. 490-502. The other serpent images describing the whole man: *Isabella*, XXIV; *L. Lamia*, I, ll. 78-80. *Otho the Great*, IV, i, ll. 14-16.

provoking. His poetry is so packed with symbolism that any attempt to analyze the imagery necessitates a consideration of its symbolic meaning. The present image requires such an approach. Blake frequently uses the serpent as an epithet equivalent to the material, and so contrary to the spiritual. The material world is the area of thought, or analytic reason, and the senses; the spiritual world is the sphere of the intuitive imagination. When humanity finds itself operating under rules formulated according to the dictates of reason and the senses, spiritual degeneracy begins. Blake saw Europe in this condition at the end of the eighteenth century. The following image epitomizes the power of the flesh and the power of thought, or analytic reason, to distort man's view of the infinite and his relation to it:

Thought chang'd the infinite to a serpent, that  
 which pitieth  
 To a devouring flame; and man fled from its face  
 and hid  
 In forests of night: then all the eternal forests  
 were divided  
 Into earths rolling in circles of space, that like  
 an ocean rush'd  
 And overwhelmed all except this finite wall of flesh.  
 Then was the serpent temple form'd, image of infinite  
 Shut up in finite revolutions; and man became an  
 Angel,

Heaven a mighty circle turning, God a tyrant crown'd.

*Europe\**

Thought transforms the infinite and its attributes of pity and love into a serpent of lust, a devouring flame. Frightened, man flees and hides behind a veil of mortal errors\*\* "forests of night." Hidden behind his physical frailties, man no longer sees the "eternal forests"—the spiritual universe—as a unity but only as separate and unrelated pieces. Oneness has become a plurality of circles floating in space. Only when man's vision becomes blinded to the wholeness of the universe does he grow conscious of space, which like an ocean engulfs everything except the body, the finite wall of flesh. With his immortal soul separated from the infinite, man can only simulate by building a temple such as reason and the

\**Europe*, p. 216. The other serpent images describing areas and aspects of man's life and experiences: *The French Revolution*, p. 167. *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, p. 181.

\*\*Blake uses "mortal errors" in the sense of "fatal errors."

senses can design. In this process of limiting the infinite, and having lost his own divinity, man reverses all values: He sees himself as an angel (deluded, of course), encloses Heaven in boundaries, and turns God into a ruling despot and places on his head a crown—a finite revolution. Man's reason has imposed its own limitations upon the infinite, which only the intuitive imagination can apprehend completely and perfectly.

The last of the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, which express Wordsworth's homage to tradition and the Established Church, is built on the image of the future as a coiled serpent sleeping at noontide:

Why sleeps the future, as a snake enrolled,  
Coil within coil, at noontide? For the Word  
Yields, if with unpresumptuous faith explored,  
Power at whose touch the sluggard shall unfold  
His drowsy rings.

*Ecclesiastical Sonnets\**

Even though the snake lies coiled in sleep and sluggishness at the peak of the day, the slightest stimulation stirs him out of his drowsy folds into purposeful and meaningful action. Latent power becomes visible and demonstrated power. The future, too, lies coiled, quiet, and impenetrable but, like the serpent, can be stirred into meaning and responsiveness. The power which can stir the future and render it meaningful is that yielded by the *Bible* when explored with care and an unassuming faith. The light shed by the *Bible* as to the past, present, and future and their meaning is just as adequate as that which the sun at midday provides. If the snake and the future lie inert and seemingly unfathomable, the slightest touch or the power yielded by a faithful reading of the *Bible* will stir each into responsiveness. Just as disturbing the sleeping snake causes him to release the latent power in his coils, so can applying faith to the Word of God unfold many insights into the future.

Coleridge's imagination endows the avenging Furies with great ingenuity in dealing out punishment. Torn between love and loyalty toward his father, on one hand, and the emperor, on the other, Max Piccolomini weighs the results of any action which might hurt his father. A cannon ball shot into Octavio's camp will be parricidal, Max fears, for the snaky-haired Furies, adept at punishment, will seize the ball and maliciously direct it toward his

\**Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, III, xlvii, ll. 1-5.

father. Cautious and deliberate, the troubled son hesitates to put a weapon into the hands of the Furies:

For when the ball  
Has left its cannon, and is on its flight,  
It is no longer a dead instrument!  
It lives, a spirit passes into it,  
The avenging furies seize possession of it,  
And with sure malice guide it the worst way.

*The Death of Wallenstein\**

The poet's imagination which endows the Furies with ingenuity enough to conceal themselves inside the cannon ball and misdirect it creates an exciting picture, but prompts the reader to create an even more exciting one which depicts a Fury mounted astride the ball, with heels spurring its sides and head thrust forward, bearing and pulling through the wind a scourge of writhing snakes inciting both the rider and the ridden to frenzied flight. The imagination twice becomes, to use the poet's own words, "the shaping spirit": It shapes into meaningfulness the well of chaotic ideas within the poet and then becomes the rudder or "shaping spirit" of the reader's own imagination. Thus, imagination stirred by imagination becomes riotous.

Even though Byron's image comparing an aspect of life with a serpent is built around the conventional and mythological hydra, he conceives of this horrible monster-serpent as irresistible and most eager to please its audience. This is, indeed, a novel and effective presentation of the hydra, whom poets have berated and denounced for centuries. The hydra has been used so frequently to describe evil that one suggests the other. So when Byron, even though using the hydra to describe Vice, makes it attractive and desirable, he stops being conventional and becomes original and provocative. The hydra is the mythological serpent with nine heads, any one of which if cut off results in the appearance of two others. This characteristic of reproducing and multiplying itself so prolifically and rapidly is a favorite among poets in their description of any multifarious evil, or an evil having many sources, not to be overcome by a single effort. Note the transformation which the hydra has undergone in the hands of Byron:

\**The Death of Wallenstein*, II, II, ix, ll. 51-56. The other serpent images describing areas and aspects of man's life and experiences: *Religious Musings*, I, pp. 115-16, ll. 173-78. *The Death of Wallenstein*, II, II, vi, ll. 76-78. *The Piccolomini*, II, IV, vii, ll. 250-53.



Ah, Vice, how soft are thy voluptuous ways!  
 While boyish blood is mantling, who can 'scape  
 The fascination of thy magic gaze?  
 A Cherub-hydra round us dost thou gape,  
 And mould to every taste thy dear delusive shape.

*Childe Harold's Pilgrimage\**

Conceiving of the hydra as a Cherub is startling and intriguing. One hesitates to believe that the poet would be bold enough to call Vice an angel even though he has been respectful enough to call on that rank of angels below the seraphim. One is equally hesitant to conceive of Vice as an innocent child. Vice is portrayed by Byron as a sensuous and voluptuous woman, posing as an innocent, wide-eyed, and rosycheeked Cherub in an effort to disarm and win the attention and favors of youths, whose blood races in their veins seeking excitement, novelty, and variety of experience. And like the hydra, Vice can assume many shapes in an effort to suit the taste of any appetite. The word "gape" suggests the open-mouthed innocence of a child, the hunger and greed of the hydra, and the insatiate desire of sensuality.

Shelley's poetry contains some of the most original and interesting serpent images depicting areas and aspects of human life and experience. Always concerned with the problems of tyranny and freedom, Shelley in an effective image presents Freedom as being cleverer than Tyranny. The poet frequently uses the serpent to represent evil at odds with mankind and Freedom. Therefore, when Freedom outwits Tyranny in a practical joke, the reader wishes to join Hope in her eulogy of Freedom:

To the rich thou art a check,  
 When his foot is on the neck  
 Of his victim, thou dost make  
 That he treads upon a snake.

*The Mask of Anarchy\*\**

A victim oppressed too far by Tyranny is compared to a snake lying dangerously underfoot. Because the rich man's greed may

\**Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, I, lxxv, ll. 661-65. The other serpent images describing areas and aspects of man's life and experiences: *Cain*, I, i, ll. 18-21; II, ii, ll. 494-504; III, i, ll. 401-04; III, i, ll. 427-30. *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, I, lv, ll. 573-74; IV, cxxxii, ll. 1183-85; IV, clx, ll. 1432-40. *Childish Recollections*, p. 127, l. 390. *Heaven and Earth*, I, iii, ll. 303-11. *Marino Faliero*, I, ii, ll. 449-52; III, ii, ll. 358-59. *Monody on the Death of The Right Hon. R. B. Sheridan*, p. 193, l. 86. *The Curse of Minerva*, p. 271, ll. 219-20.

\*\**The Mask of Anarchy*, p. 342, ll. 226-29.

render him oblivious to the dangers of the ground he tramples on, Freedom reminds him to watch his step, pretending that it is a snake rather than a neck on which he treads. The poet's withholding the word "snake" until the end of the line comes as a shock to the unsuspecting reader, who begins to feel a sort of pride that he, too, is involved in the prank which Freedom plays on Tyranny.

In another unusual and provocative image Shelley presents the Spirit of Good as a serpent. The snake-eagle combat in *The Revolt of Islam* is possibly Shelley's most celebrated presentation of the serpent as good in a struggle with evil. The Woman in this poem speaks of the two powers which hold dominion over mortal beings—Evil and Good. The Woman describes these powers:

'The darkness lingering o'er the dawn of things,  
Was Evil's breath and life; this made him strong  
To soar aloft with overshadowing wings;  
And the great Spirit of Good did creep among  
The nations of mankind, and every tongue  
Cursed and blasphemed him as he passed; for none  
Knew good from evil.'

*The Revolt of Islam\**

Evil is depicted as an eagle soaring above the earth and casting shadows; Good is depicted as a serpent creeping over the ground. The physical contrast between the swift, unfettered, and soaring eagle and the slow, earthbound, and creeping serpent is a forceful expression of the contrast between the Spirit of Evil and the Spirit of Good.

Shelley's abundant use of the serpent in images treating of the social and spiritual aspects of man's life provides an interesting and enlightening contrast to Keats' paucity of serpent images in this area. Shelley, a humanitarian, was deeply concerned with social problems and certain spiritual concepts which he associated with serpents and their power to plague and harm man. Keats, an apostle of beauty rather than an apostle of humanitarianism,

\**The Revolt of Islam*, I, xxviii, ll. 370-76. The other serpent images describing areas and aspects of man's life and experiences: *Cancelled Stanza of An Ode*, p. 576, ll. 5-7. *Fragment: To The Mind of Man*, p. 635, ll. 15-17. *Genevra*, p. 650, ll. 58-64. *Hellas*, p. 451, ll. 107-08; p. 451, ll. 145-46. *Marenghi*, p. 565, ll. 44-45. *Ode to Liberty*, p. 606, ll. 117-20. *Prometheus Unbound*, I, ll. 326-27; I, ll. 346-49; II, iii, ll. 91-97; III, i, ll. 39-42; IV, ll. 562-69. *Queen Mab*, p. 782, ll. 195-96; p. 791, ll. 238-39. *Rosalind and Helen*, p. 178, ll. 699-703. *The Cenci*, II, i, ll. 86-87; IV, ll. 179-80. *The Daemon of the World*, I, ll. 99-101. *The Revolt of Islam*, I, xxxiii, ll. 419-20; VIII, xxvii, ll. 3439-40; X, xxxviii, ll. 4133-34; XI, viii, ll. 4288-92.

exercised his imagination in making the physical and sensuous world as delightful as possible. Keats was interested in the question of beauty, not the question of social and spiritual life. Even though Shelley generally uses the serpent in many more images than does Keats, the extreme disparity in this particular area becomes especially meaningful when superimposed upon the background of their lives.

Keats' one serpent image in a social context treats of an emperor's avowal to punish disobedience in a subject:

'Bring Hum to me.' But stay—

Throw in a hint, that if he should neglect  
One hour, the next shall see him in my grasp,  
And the next after that shall see him neck'd,  
Or swallow'd by my hunger-starved asp—

*The Cap and Bells\**

Angry and frustrated at not attaining his true love, and about to marry someone he does not love, Emperor Elfinan sends for Hum, the soothsayer, who he hopes will be able to provide him with a magical solution to his problem. The possibility that Hum might delay his summons to appear or might refuse his request plunges the emperor into a consideration of the most horrible way to punish the soothsayer. He decides with much satisfaction that letting his hunger-starved asp swallow Hum will be punishment commensurate to the crime.

*Serpent Imagery: Natural Phenomena  
and Man-made Objects*

Even though the Romanticists are urged on by an instinct to escape from the world of sense perception, which is a "shadow-show" presented to them by their senses and reason, they still realize that they cannot disregard the sensuous, phenomenalist, and rational worlds. They constantly strive to live in the world of imagination; yet they know that their bodies are earthbound and that they must adapt themselves to the demands of an earthly existence. Aware of the breach between body and soul, they are forever trying to bridge this gap and to find a correspondence between natural and man-made worlds on one hand, and the spirit-

\**The Cap and Bells*, xxii.

ual world on the other; between actuality and desire; and between reality and ideality. This is true of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, and Keats. In spite of the limitations of the shadow-world of physical entities, these poets are still attracted to its manifestations, which they use in their progress toward the spiritual realm. In other words, natural and man-made elements, objects, and phenomena can be signposts to the spiritual world, provided careful observation is supported by the intuitive imagination, a combination which is man's secret power, enabling him to apprehend the divine force energizing all life.

Blake, the harbinger of romanticism, however, must not be presented as having even a limited respect for nature. His distrust of the natural world is unqualified. Nature, as he sees it, is the Devil and is the author of many evils. The other Romantic poets compare specific natural phenomena and man-made objects with a serpent; Blake, however, indulges in no such activity but categorically denounces all of nature as a serpent. Describing Christ's activities, Blake explains:

His voice was heard from Zion's hill,  
And in his hand the Scourge shone bright;  
He scourg'd the Merchant Canaanite  
From out the Temple of his Mind,  
And in his Body tight does bind  
Satan & all his Hellish Crew;  
And thus with wrath he did subdue  
The Serpent bulk of Nature's dross,  
Till He had nail'd it to the Cross.

*The Everlasting Gospel\**

Angry that man did not keep physical and spiritual impulses and activities apart and in their proper spheres, Christ took scourge in hand. The Mind is a spiritual temple and should be kept inviolate; the Body is an arena for the exercise of physical impulses and activities. Devoted to spiritual growth, the Mind must resist any invasion by the physical and must keep up a constant guard against permitting physical perceptions to color spiritual intuitions. Christ realized that the natural world as built up by the senses and the rational faculty is subordinate and at cross-pur-

\**The Everlasting Gospel*, 2b, pp. 134-35. The other serpent images describing natural phenomena and man-made objects: *Europe*, p. 215; p. 217; p. 219. *Jerusalem*, II, 29, p. 469; II, 42, p. 486; IV, 80, p. 542. *Vala, or The Four Zoas*, III, p. 282; VI, p. 301; IX, p. 353.



poses to the nature of the soul and its destiny. In order to demonstrate this fact, Christ died on the cross. He proved to man that spiritual nature and its needs and physical nature and its needs are at odds. Until Christ died on the cross, man's only inheritance was that of the flesh, capable only of sense knowledge and experience in the phenomenalist world. By permitting His body to be nailed to the cross, He subdued all errors, weaknesses, and evils which man had inherited since Eve's transgression. Until Christ died, man had no spiritual inheritance but only an inheritance of the flesh. All the misconceptions, deceptions, illusions, and evils resulting from man's reliance upon his sensuous and physical impulses and activities are "Nature's dross"; all the corrupt and false knowledge accrued by the reasoning faculty is "Nature's dross." The senses and reason can dredge up only dross, waste matter, refuse; the spiritual and intuitive imagination, on the other hand, rejects the dross and accepts only the true substance. Because Blake holds that the natural world presents a deceiving and incomplete picture to man, nature is compared to a serpent, which is untrustworthy. In conversation with Crabb Robinson, he denied that the natural world is anything: "It is all nothing, and Satan's empire is an empire of nothing."\* And in the same conversation, he said, "I fear Wordsworth loves Nature, and Nature is the work of the Devil. The Devil is in us as far as we are Nature."\*\*

Blake's comments provide a timely introduction to Wordsworth, whose poetry is a reverent expression of the beauty of external nature and its power to ennoble him. Wordsworth would agree with Blake's accusation that he did love nature but would be compelled to part company with him at the end of the first independent clause. The following image exemplifies Wordsworth's capacity for seeing happiness in nature. The swans in their purity are no more sinless than were the snakes in Eden before the fall of Eve. Their happiness, too, in the triumph of love between Sir Galahad and an Egyptian maid is comparable to that of the snake before it sinned by tempting Eve into rebellion and disobedience:

And lo! those Birds, far-famed through Love's  
dominions,

The Swans, in triumph clap their wings;

\*Symons, Arthur: William Blake. 1907. P. 263.

\*\**Ibid.*, p. 264.

And their necks play, involved in rings,  
Like sinless snakes in Eden's happy land.

*The Egyptian Maid\**

The fame of the swan in the dominion of love began with the sacredness to Apollo and Venus, god and goddess of grace and love, and in its representation of faultlessness and excellence is associated with the unblemished character of Sir Galahad and the Egyptian maid. When the noble knight and the innocent, chaste maid find each other, love and happiness prevail. The ring movement of the swans' long necks expresses the completeness, perfection, and harmony growing out of love such as prevailed in the Garden of Eden, where every form and aspect of life was a manifestation of God. Wordsworth epitomizes this love by representing the serpent, the most sinful of animals, as sinless. What greater expression of happiness, love, and innocence can there be than the representation of the snake as guiltless? Such is the joy of the swans when love in its purest expression triumphs in the lives of Sir Galahad and the Egyptian maid.

Coleridge's poetry yields only one image in which the serpent is used to describe natural phenomena. The image occurs in a fragment in which the poet marvels that the moon, even though traveling a fixed and circumscribed path, suffuses its light over all of nature, including a "snake-like stream" (*Fragments*, No. 6, II, 997). This is a prosaic serpent image. Many poets and poetasters at one time or another have compared a stream to a serpent.

Byron's comparison of the quiet surface of an oval lake with a coiled, sleeping serpent has much visual appeal. The village lake lies "navelled" in a wooded valley and, thus, is begrudgingly spared the violence of the wind, which in its fury uproots trees and lashes water. Treasuring its serenity, the lake nurtures a hatred for the wind:

And, calm as cherish'd hate, its surface wears  
A deep cold settled aspect nought can shake,  
All coil'd into itself and round, as sleeps the snake.

*Childe Harold's Pilgrimage\*\**

\**The Egyptian Maid*, p. 680, ll. 320-23. The other serpent images describing natural phenomena and man-made objects: *An Evening Walk*, p. 7, l. 246. *Desultory Stanzas*, p. 591, l. 63. *Dion*, p. 528, ll. 82-83. *The Excursion*, VII, ll. 47-48; VII, ll. 791-92. *The Prelude*, III, l. 563; VI, ll. 705-07. *The River Duddon*. IV. *Yew-Trees*, p. 292, ll. 16-18.

\*\**Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, IV, clxxiii, ll. 1155-57.

The oxymoron "cherish'd hate" points up the incongruity between the appearance of the quiet lake and the sleeping serpent, on one hand, and their real nature, on the other. Both appear calm and undisturbed; yet the calmness is not due to a gentle or passive nature. Beneath the cold, settled aspect of the glassy surface of the lake lie formidable strength and anger like that of a coiled, sleeping snake, which defies disturbance.

A particularly powerful and sensuous image illustrates Shelley's use of the serpent to describe natural phenomena and man-made objects. As has been noted before, a serpent in combat with a predatory bird is a common image in Shelley's poetry. The following image compares the prow of boats dashed about on a violent sea to necks of serpents in the grasp of a vulture:

Higher and higher still  
Their fierce necks writhed beneath the tempest's  
scourge  
Like serpents struggling in a vulture's grasp.  
*Alastor\**

The image is effective in its combining visual, auditory, tactile, and kinesthetic appeal. The picture presents a vivid and terrifying struggle between will to survive and will to destroy. The tempest-scoured ocean relentlessly assaulting the boats in a desperate effort to submerge them is like a predatory vulture mercilessly clutching the serpents. The straining and fragmenting of wood and the tearing and rending of flesh, the lashing of wind and waves against the boats and the flapping wings and striking beak of the vulture, the rushing of wind and the hissing of fearful and angry snakes—all strike the ear with much force. The straining prows of the boats and the pulling, writhing necks of the serpents, the splintered wood and the ripped flesh stir the kinesthetic and tactile senses. Not only the theme of Shelley's image but the words "fierce," "writhed," "scourge," "struggling," and "grasp" lend to the general effect of power and dramatic intensity.

\**Alastor*, p. 22, ll. 323-25. The other serpent images describing natural phenomena and man-made objects: *Adonais*, p. 435, ll. 161-62. *Alastor*, p. 24, ll. 438-41. *A Vision of the Sea*, p. 598, ll. 100-04. *Fragments of an Unfinished Drama*, p. 486, ll. 163-67. *Hellas*, p. 477, ll. 1060-63. *Mont Blanc*, p. 534, ll. 100-02. *Prometheus Unbound*, III, iii, l. 135; III, iv, ll. 119-21; IV, l. 291. *The Mask of Anarchy*, p. 340, ll. 110-11. *The Revolt of Islam*, I, lvi, ll. 622-24. *The Sensitive Plant*, III, ll. 51-53. *To Jane: The Recollection*, p. 669, ll. 21-24.

Keats uses the serpent in only two images describing natural phenomena and man-made objects, both of which are based on the mythological Gorgon, Medusa. Although occurring in a stanza rejected by Keats, one of these images is particularly effective in creating a scene and atmosphere of grotesqueness and horror. The poet imaginatively constructs a phantom boat such as he thinks one looking for a likely abode of melancholy would build. The rudder of this boat is a dragon's tail and its ropes are snakes pulled from Medusa's head:

Though you should build a bark of dead men's bones  
And rear a phantom gibbet for a mast,  
Stitch shrouds together for a sail, with groans  
To fill it out, blood-stained and aghast;  
Although your rudder be a dragon's tail  
Long sever'd, yet still hard with agony,  
Your cordage large uprootings from the skull  
Of bald Medusa, certes you would fail  
To find the Melancholy— . . . .  
Cancelled Stanza of the *Ode on Melancholy*\*

Such a setting may seem a likely place to find Melancholy but, as the poet so beautifully explains in *Ode on Melancholy*, if one would seek out the haunts of Melancholy, then he should never leave the realms of joy and happiness. The whole poem is an eloquent expression of the paradoxical nature of the Romantic poets, who hold that beauty and ugliness, pleasure and pain, and happiness and sorrow are closely allied: man's capacity for one is associated with his capacity for the other.

#### *Serpent Imagery: Pictorial Detail*

Many times the serpent is presented as mere animal, interesting within its own right. The snake's color, sound, and movement are invaluable when the poets wish to enliven pictorial detail. At other times, the serpent is simply listed in a cataloguing of the forms of nature.

For example, Blake lists the serpent as one of the obstacles which Urizen had to contend with in his creation of the world of time and space:

\**Ode on Melancholy* (Cancelled Stanza), p. 398. The other serpent image describing natural phenomena and man-made objects: *Endymion*, IV, ll. 128-29.



For he strove in battles dire,  
 In unseen confliotions with shapes  
 Bred from his forsaken wilderness  
 Of beast, bird, fish, serpent & element,  
 Combustion, blast, vapour and cloud.

*The First Book of Urizen\**

Wordsworth uses the serpent as mere animal enlivening pictorial detail. In the following image, the poet depicts a beautiful snake entwining itself about the neck of the statue of a child, sitting amid a thick, tangled wilderness:

And the green, gilded snake, without  
 troubling the calm  
 Of the beautiful countenance, twine  
 round his neck.

*Fort Fuentes\*\**

The appearance of the "green, gilded snake" is one of many details which Wordsworth uses to create a picture of quiet and peaceful nature, removed from the strife and tumult of humanity and war.

Coleridge's presentation of the serpent as a mere animal is an unusually realistic one. Generally the snake is treated as an unfriendly animal from which man runs or at least one which he views with some apprehensiveness. So it is refreshing when Coleridge depicts the snake as scared and running from man. The poet describes the impassioned lover as he forces his way through the forest, seeking rest for his weary heart and at the same time disturbing nature. While he is winding in and out among the tangled undergrowth and climbing and descending hills,

oft unseen,  
 Hurrying along the drifted forest-leaves  
 The scared snake rustles.

*The Picture†*

\**The First Book of Urizen*, I, p. 220. The other serpent images describing pictorial detail: *I Saw a Chapel All of Gold*, p. 87. *Jerusalem*, III, 73, 531, IV, 98, p. 567. *King Edward the Third*, p. 29. *Milton*, I, 29, p. 410. *The Book of Ahania*, II, pp. 236-37. *The French Revolution*, p. 168; p. 180. *The Ghost of Abel*, p. 584. *To Nobodaddy*, p. 93. *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, p. 196; p. 200.

\*\**Fort Fuentes*, p. 582, ll. 7-8. The other serpent images describing pictorial detail: *The Excursion*, II, ll. 41-47. *When Philoctetes in the Lemnian Isle*, p. 651.

†*The Picture*, I, p. 369, ll. 4-6. The other serpent images describing pictorial detail: *Christabel*, I, p. 232, ll. 549-54. *Duras Navis*, I, p. 3, l. 38. *Melancholy*, I, p. 74, l. 6. *The Night Scene*, I, p. 423, ll. 82-83.

Coleridge's *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* provides his most excellent presentation of pictorial detail. The water snake scene (discussed as pantheism) is alive with vivid color and exciting movement.

Byron's image in which the serpent is just another animal and nothing more is based on the Biblical interpretation of the snake in the Garden of Eden. Lucifer's answers to Cain's curiosity concerning his mother's tempter in the Garden are eloquent and persuasive testimony to the snake's status as mere animal and nothing more:

The snake *was* the snake—  
No more; and yet not less than those he tempted,  
In nature being earth also—*more* in wisdom,  
Since he could overcome them, and foreknew  
The knowledge fatal to their narrow joys.

Cain\*

Byron states in the preface to the play that he is interpreting the serpent in its purely Biblical conception. He reminds the reader that no mention is made in Genesis that the serpent was a demon but only that it was wiser than all the other beasts: "Now the serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field which the Lord God made."\*\* Therefore, Byron and Lucifer capitalize upon this presentation of the serpent as a mere animal which, though not embodying a spirit or demon, possessed wisdom and power to persuade man. Lucifer, making a good case for himself and hoping to win Cain's confidence, asserts vehemently and with much finality that the serpent in the Garden of Eden was a mere snake, nothing more. And when Cain persists in his questions implying the possibility of Lucifer's being the demon or spirit which assumed the form of the serpent, Lucifer scorns and rejects the idea that, even though he were capable of such a transformation, he would stoop to assume the shape of anything which dies. However categorical and supercilious in his denial of assuming the shape of a serpent and beguiling Eve, Lucifer continues to be plied with questions from Cain, who is torn by doubts and conflicts in regard to his father and mother's experience in the Garden of Eden. Growing impatient and belligerent, Lucifer adamantly accuses man of shifting blame for his failings and acquits

\*Cain, I, i, ll. 220-24.

\*\*Genesis 3. 1., *The Holy Bible*, King James version. (All quotations are from this version.)

himself of any such subversive activities. However, lest Lucifer appear derogatory and unfair to the serpent, he hastens to assure Cain that even though the snake was a mere animal not possessing a demon, it had the exceptional power to wake

one  
In those he spake to with his forky tongue.  
I tell thee the serpent was no more  
Than a mere serpent.

Cain\*

"It does not take a demon to beguile man," Lucifer seems to be saying to Cain and the Christian theologians. "A mere serpent is adequate to assist man in his own self-deception."

Shelley found the serpent interesting as pictorial detail. Whenever he paints a detailed picture of the phenomenalistic world, and this is often, he almost invariably includes the serpent. Scene after scene is a cataloguing of the animal and plant life inhabiting the world, oftentimes characterized by grotesqueness, decay, ruin, and devastation—an effect intensified by the presence of the serpent. In the following image, a Gothic atmosphere prevails in a panoramic view of a wasted world, where

serpents, bony chains, twisted around  
The iron crags, or within heaps of dust  
To which the torturous strength of their last pangs  
Had crushed the iron crags.

Prometheus Unbound\*\*

The visual impact is powerful. The scene is one of spent strength, destruction, and desolation. The unusual effect may be described as strength overcome, movement immobilized, and activity inactivated. Depicting the serpent spines as chains suggests iron; death as the great leveler has equated the serpents and the iron crags. The unconquerable has been conquered, the indestructible destroyed.

\*Cain, I, i, ll. 226-29. The other serpent images describing pictorial detail: Cain, I, i, ll. 191-92; I, l. 459; II, iii, ll. 395-400. *Darkness*, p. 189, ll. 35-37.

\*\**Prometheus Unbound*, IV, ll. 305-08. The other serpent images describing pictorial detail: *A Vision of the Sea*, p. 599, ll. 137-44. *Cancelled Fragments of Prometheus Unbound*, p. 268. *Marengi*, p. 567, ll. 89-90; p. 567, ll. 106-07. *Prometheus Unbound*, II, v, l. 43; III, iv, ll. 36-39; III, iv, ll. 73-75. *Rosalind and Helen*, p. 169, ll. 113-19; p. 169, l. 132. *The Cenci*, III, i, ll. 46-47. *The Daemon of the World*, II, ll. 377-79; II, ll. 379-83. *The Revolt of Islam*, I, xix, ll. 289-94; V, I, ll. 2162-63; X, iii, ll. 3815-18; X, xliii, l. 4176; X, xlv, ll. 4193-94. *The Witch of Atlas*, p. 373, ll. 89-93. *Wake the Serpent Not*, p. 586, ll. 1-4.

Intent on re-creating the phenomenalistic world to delight man's sensuous nature, Keats at times dazzles the eye with a rainbow of color, strikes the ear with a splash of sound, and goads the tactile and kinesthetic senses into response. The poet stresses the sensuous appeal of the serpent, which he often uses to add to profuseness of detail, giving color, sound, and movement to his poetry. The famous description of Lamia in her serpent form is a breathtaking and gorgeous mass of color and intricate design. Hermes hears a mournful voice and, gliding softly among the trees and bushes, comes upon

a palpitating snake,  
Bright, and cirque-couchant in a dusty brake.  
She was a gordian shape of dazzling hue,  
Vermilion-spotted, golden, green, and blue;  
Striped like a zebra, freckled like a pard,  
Eyed like a peacock, and all crimson barr'd;  
And full of silver moons, that, as she breathed,  
Dissolv'd, or brighter shone, or interwreathed  
Their lustres with the gloomier tapestries—  
So rainbow-sided, touch'd with miseries,  
She seem'd, at once, some penanced lady elf,  
Some demon's mistress, or the demon's self.  
Upon her crest she wore a wannish fire  
Sprinkled with stars, like Ariadne's tiar:  
Her head was a serpent, but ah, bitter-sweet!  
She had a woman's mouth with all its pearls complete:  
And for her eyes: what could such eyes do there  
But weep, and weep, that they were born so fair?  
As Proserpine still weeps for her Sicilian air.  
Her throat was serpent, but the words she spake  
Came, as through bubbling honey, for Love's sake.

*Lamia\**

Although the other Romantic poets depict some beautiful snakes, they are not a threat to Keats' supremacy in this area. Blake's serpent is frequently attired in rich and dazzling gems and adorned with a crest of fire, and Coleridge's water snakes in *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* are colorful and scintillating. But these or other serpents cannot compare to Keats' serpent, possessing a beauty which heightens and sustains the reader's excitement for

\**Lamia*, I, ll. 45-65. The other serpent images describing pictorial detail: *Fancy*, p. 214, ll. 57-58. *Fragment*, p. 397, ll. 15-16.



twenty-one lines. Serpent imagery in *Lamia* is organic; there would not be a poem without it.

(Part II of "Serpent Imagery and Symbolism" will appear in THE PSYCHIATRIC QUARTERLY SUPPLEMENT Part 1, 1961.

Lock Drawer B  
Glenwood,  
Iowa

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## FIRST ADMISSIONS TO NEW YORK CIVIL STATE MENTAL HOSPITALS, 1911-1958

BY ROBERT E. PATTON AND ABBOTT S. WEINSTEIN

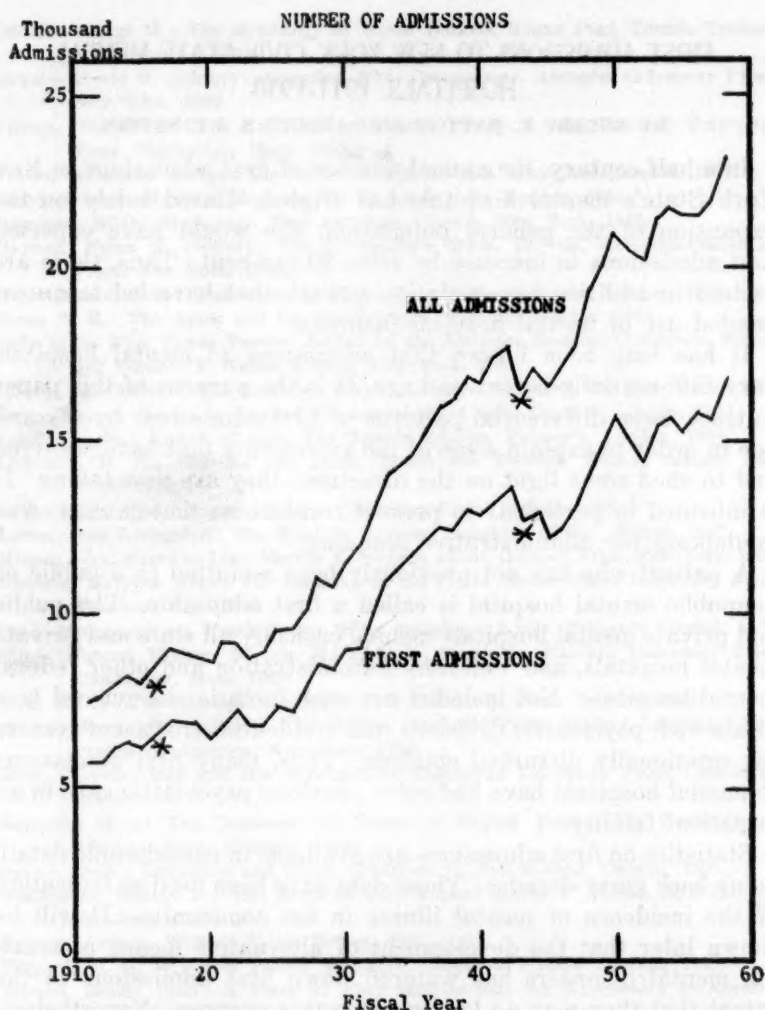
In a half-century, the annual number of first admissions to New York State's mental hospitals has tripled. Based solely on the expansion of the general population, one would have expected first admissions to increase by some 80 per cent. Thus, there are factors in addition to population growth that have led to an expanded use of mental hospital facilities.

It has long been known that admissions to mental hospitals vary differentially by sex and age. It is the purpose of this paper to trace these differential patterns of first admissions by sex and age in order to explain some of the movements that have occurred and to shed some light on the directions they are now taking. It is intended in particular to present conclusions that can serve as guideposts for administrative planning.

A patient who has not previously been admitted to a public or nonpublic mental hospital is called a first admission. The public and private mental hospitals include basically all state and private mental hospitals, and Veterans Administration and other federal mental hospitals. Not included are such facilities as general hospitals with psychiatric divisions and residential treatment centers for emotionally disturbed children. Thus, many first admissions to mental hospitals have had some previous psychiatric care in an in-patient facility.

Statistics on first admissions are available in considerable detail, going back many decades. These data have been used as indicators of the incidence of mental illness in the community. It will be shown later that the development of alternative means of treating mental disorders has watered down first admissions to the extent that they may no longer serve this purpose. Nevertheless, first admissions do indicate the minimum degree to which the community avails itself of mental hospital facilities.

For most administrative purposes, data on all admissions would be more appropriate than those on first admissions, if the former were available for an adequate number of years. However, as shown in Figure 1, the trend in first admissions roughly shadows the trend in the total, although the two series have been diverging slowly since the early 1930's.



\*Estimated for full year based on nine months due to change in fiscal year.

Figure 1.

Table 1 shows that first admissions as a percentage of the total have declined slightly during the past 20 years. From the fiscal year ended in 1911 until World War II, there was very little change in the proportion of first admissions to all admissions. Over that span of three decades, the proportion hovered around 78 and 79 per cent with minor exceptions. During the late 1940's, it was



Table 1. Number of Admissions and Number of First Admissions  
Fiscal Years Ended in 1911-1958

Fiscal Year Ended in	All Admissions	First Admissions		Fiscal Year Ended in	All Admissions	First Admissions	
		Number	Per cent of All Admissions			Number	Per cent of All Admissions
				1934	14,297	11,349	79.4
1958	23,286	16,972	72.9	1933	13,841	10,935	79.0
1957	21,828	16,014	73.4	1932	12,888	10,142	78.7
1956	21,454	15,849	73.9	1931	11,788	9,286	78.8
1955	21,459	15,643	72.9	1930	11,504	9,040	78.6
1954	21,577	15,734	72.9	1929	10,750	8,550	79.5
1953	21,309	15,592	73.2	1928	10,853	8,614	79.4
1952	20,140	14,667	72.8	1927	9,987	7,928	79.4
1951	20,420	15,114	74.0	1926	9,423	7,295	77.4
1950	20,903	15,597	74.6	1925	9,436	7,435	78.8
1949	20,059	14,968	74.9	1924	8,871	6,933	78.2
1948	19,269	14,427	74.9	1923	8,772	6,900	78.7
1947	17,678	13,278	75.1	1922	8,917	7,015	78.7
1946	17,099	12,763	74.6	1921	9,028	6,939	76.9
1945	16,502	12,415	75.2	1920	8,511	6,573	77.2
1944	17,002	13,027	76.6	1919	8,675	6,791	78.3
1943*	12,367	9,535	77.1	1918	8,700	6,797	78.1
1942	17,611	13,738	78.0	1917	8,805	6,877	78.1
1941	17,250	13,463	78.0	1916*	6,223	4,903	78.8
1940	16,614	12,989	78.2	1915	7,934	6,204	78.2
1939	16,721	13,068	78.2	1914	7,956	6,265	78.7
1938	16,070	12,635	78.6	1913	7,664	6,061	79.1
1937	15,943	12,507	78.4	1912	7,336	5,742	78.3
1936	15,200	11,938	78.5	1911	7,260	5,700	78.5
1935	14,540	11,554	79.5				

\*9 months only, due to change in fiscal year.

roughly 75 per cent, and, in the past decade, has been a fairly even 73 per cent.

A tremendous growth in the number of admissions occurred from fiscal 1911 to fiscal 1958, as shown in Table 1 and Figure 1. From 5,700 in 1911, the number of first admissions rose to 16,972 in fiscal 1958, an increase of nearly 200 per cent. The number of males increased by 186 per cent (from 3,013 to 8,613) while the number of females increased by 211 per cent (from 2,687 to 8,359).

As noted earlier, the general population of the state grew by 80 per cent from 1911 to 1958. Thus, part of the growth in admissions is due to this expansion of the general population from which the admissions are drawn. However, the rest of the growth must be due to other factors. This latter part can be measured by adjusting the admissions to exclude the effect of the population increase, namely by examining admission rates per 100,000 general population. For fiscal 1911, the rate was 62 first admissions per 100,000 general population; the comparable rate for 1958 was 103, an increase of 66 per cent.

Table 2 A. Number of First Admissions by Age, Fiscal Years Ended in 1911-1958  
Both Sexes

Fiscal year Ended in	Total	Age						
		Less than 15	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 and over
1958	16,972	579	1,859	2,384	2,144	1,956	1,873	6,177
1957	16,014	543	1,597	2,308	1,971	1,813	1,857	5,925
1956	15,849	329	1,496	2,227	2,044	1,805	1,871	6,077
1955	15,643	193	1,408	2,288	2,028	1,743	1,904	6,079
1954	15,734	272	1,525	2,389	2,055	1,867	1,846	5,780
1953	15,592	270	1,530	2,366	2,053	1,814	1,913	5,646
1952	14,667	209	1,489	2,141	1,948	1,738	1,741	5,401
1951	15,114	230	1,583	2,201	2,037	1,887	1,871	5,305
1950	15,597	238	1,671	2,266	2,172	1,954	2,029	5,267
1949	14,968	194	1,560	2,233	2,099	1,902	2,009	4,971
1948	14,427	206	1,560	2,075	2,060	1,890	1,896	4,740
1947	13,278	175	1,416	1,964	1,942	1,769	1,755	4,257
1946	12,763	137	1,252	1,721	1,818	1,755	1,701	4,379
1945	12,415	184	1,241	1,650	1,742	1,679	1,724	4,195
1944	13,027	135	1,290	1,689	1,730	1,821	1,763	4,599
1943*	9,535	129	934	1,296	1,408	1,385	1,303	3,080
1942	13,738	189	1,398	1,936	2,191	2,051	1,870	4,103
1941	13,463	125	1,429	2,043	2,231	2,106	1,901	3,628
1940	12,989	133	1,405	2,105	2,141	2,157	1,774	3,274
1939	13,068	153	1,370	2,177	2,296	2,138	1,782	3,152
1938	12,635	176	1,368	2,027	2,284	2,096	1,704	2,980
1937	12,507	198	1,394	2,083	2,261	2,072	1,674	2,825
1936	11,938	157	1,300	1,986	2,178	2,067	1,587	2,663
1935	11,554	127	1,338	1,900	2,232	1,911	1,537	2,509
1934	11,349	130	1,344	1,883	2,231	1,962	1,533	2,266
1933	10,935	105	1,305	1,991	2,137	1,863	1,437	2,097
1932	10,142	83	1,276	1,788	2,021	1,733	1,282	1,959
1931	9,286	87	1,190	1,722	1,929	1,553	1,168	1,637
1930	9,040	57	1,148	1,701	1,902	1,515	1,074	1,643

\*Nine months only, due to change in fiscal year.

Table 2 A. Number of First Admissions by Age, Fiscal Years Ended in 1911-1958  
Both Sexes (concluded)

Fiscal year Ended in	Age							65 and over
	Total	Less than 15	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	
1929	8,550	34	1,108	1,524	1,761	1,452	1,118	1,553
1928	8,614	53	1,041	1,691	1,791	1,456	1,108	1,474
1927	7,928	51	989	1,540	1,647	1,368	1,016	1,317
1926	7,295	49	897	1,459	1,516	1,183	842	1,349
1925	7,435	62	937	1,495	1,621	1,237	867	1,216
1924	6,933	44	885	1,417	1,517	1,164	823	1,083
1923	6,900	37	908	1,392	1,498	1,121	820	1,124
1922	7,015	18	936	1,497	1,498	1,148	813	1,105
1921	6,939	29	941	1,615	1,497	1,089	800	968
1920	6,573	21	892	1,520	1,384	1,065	761	930
1919	6,791	22	938	1,580	1,505	1,130	713	903
1918	6,797	32	969	1,578	1,459	1,132	687	940
1917	6,877	12	1,038	1,668	1,436	1,122	747	854
1916*	4,903	17	744	1,099	1,063	766	530	684
1915	6,204	13	1,002	1,392	1,367	983	669	778
1914	6,265	14	1,008	1,415	1,360	1,069	655	744
1913	6,061	16	962	1,322	1,298	1,021	655	787
1912	5,742	10	939	1,301	1,255	894	596	747
1911	5,700	14	897	1,332	1,232	947	576	702

\*Nine months only, due to change in fiscal year.

Table 2 B. Number of First Admissions by Age, Fiscal Years Ended in 1911-1958  
Males

Fiscal year Ended in	Age							65 and over
	Total	Less than 15	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	
1958	8,613	424	1,087	1,231	1,076	997	949	2,849
1957	7,758	366	902	1,173	909	860	930	2,618
1956	7,718	231	871	1,119	1,006	870	941	2,680
1955	7,650	146	848	1,188	912	833	1,007	2,716
1954	7,686	185	821	1,201	951	928	1,009	2,591
1953	7,587	179	835	1,176	980	820	1,025	2,572
1952	6,972	133	766	1,029	867	802	922	2,453
1951	7,494	138	859	1,112	973	954	996	2,462
1950	7,879	147	931	1,165	1,075	992	1,094	2,475
1949	7,462	130	852	1,082	1,015	941	1,114	2,328
1948	6,994	145	836	992	932	901	1,033	2,155
1947	6,430	136	751	917	935	857	931	1,903
1946	5,997	104	610	739	831	840	881	1,992
1945	5,789	129	589	643	758	784	907	1,979
1944	6,117	97	645	702	827	813	913	2,120
1943*	4,828	83	529	624	712	693	711	1,476

\*Nine months only, due to change in fiscal year.

Table 2 B. Number of First Admissions by Age, Fiscal Years Ended in 1911-1958  
Males (concluded)

Fiscal year Ended in	Total	Age						
		Less than 15	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 and over
1942	7,033	125	758	971	1,179	1,009	1,016	1,975
1941	7,021	84	760	1,037	1,195	1,083	1,071	1,791
1940	6,833	95	796	1,082	1,111	1,158	964	1,627
1939	6,929	94	744	1,150	1,216	1,156	1,002	1,567
1938	6,708	118	776	1,076	1,269	1,057	949	1,463
1937	6,775	119	790	1,066	1,303	1,128	931	1,438
1936	6,355	89	704	1,040	1,181	1,086	899	1,356
1935	6,121	69	729	1,029	1,185	1,007	854	1,248
1934	6,220	70	762	992	1,255	1,123	854	1,164
1933	6,008	71	698	1,071	1,192	1,051	835	1,090
1932	5,589	48	740	971	1,094	966	749	1,021
1931	5,097	50	698	914	1,053	871	647	864
1930	4,955	32	653	914	1,062	838	624	832
1929	4,726	25	648	804	963	840	630	816
1928	4,722	35	595	951	1,001	780	613	747
1927	4,364	27	567	841	961	721	559	688
1926	3,966	28	502	824	844	608	470	690
1925	3,864	33	530	792	854	615	432	608
1924	3,683	25	500	765	855	599	428	511
1923	3,623	18	476	743	816	579	447	544
1922	3,781	11	567	815	824	597	436	531
1921	3,665	20	543	849	834	544	414	461
1920	3,364	8	526	794	695	526	391	424
1919	3,527	13	489	785	842	555	381	462
1918	3,530	19	517	817	791	586	365	435
1917	3,605	7	560	868	750	591	438	391
1916*	2,572	10	402	581	556	364	300	359
1915	3,260	8	534	720	744	490	378	386
1914	3,338	8	526	763	748	549	363	381
1913	3,191	5	505	706	681	543	364	387
1912	3,010	6	456	681	675	504	318	370
1911	3,013	6	465	721	649	497	338	337

\*Nine months only, due to change in fiscal year.

Table 2 C. Number of First Admissions by Age, Fiscal Years Ended in 1911-1958  
Females

Fiscal year Ended in	Total	Age						
		Less than 15	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 and over
1958	8,359	155	772	1,153	1,068	959	924	3,328
1957	8,256	177	695	1,135	1,062	953	927	3,307
1956	8,131	98	625	1,108	1,038	935	930	3,397
1955	7,993	47	560	1,100	1,116	910	897	3,363



Table 2 C. Number of First Admissions by Age, Fiscal Years Ended in 1911-1958  
Females (concluded)

Fiscal year Ended in	Total	Age						
		Less than 15	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 and over
1954	8,048	87	704	1,188	1,104	939	837	3,189
1953	8,005	91	695	1,190	1,073	994	888	3,074
1952	7,695	76	723	1,112	1,081	936	819	2,948
1951	7,620	92	724	1,089	1,064	933	875	2,843
1950	7,718	91	740	1,101	1,097	962	935	2,792
1949	7,506	64	708	1,151	1,084	961	895	2,643
1948	7,433	61	724	1,083	1,128	989	863	2,585
1947	6,848	39	665	1,047	1,007	912	824	2,354
1946	6,766	33	642	982	987	915	820	2,387
1945	6,626	55	652	1,007	984	895	817	2,216
1944	6,910	38	645	987	903	1,008	850	2,479
1943*	4,707	46	405	672	696	692	592	1,604
1942	6,705	64	640	965	1,012	1,042	854	2,128
1941	6,442	41	669	1,006	1,036	1,023	830	1,837
1940	6,156	38	609	1,023	1,030	999	810	1,647
1939	6,139	59	626	1,027	1,080	982	780	1,585
1938	5,927	58	592	951	1,015	1,039	755	1,517
1937	5,732	79	604	1,017	958	944	743	1,387
1936	5,583	68	596	946	997	981	688	1,307
1935	5,433	58	609	871	1,047	904	683	1,261
1934	5,129	60	582	891	976	839	679	1,102
1933	4,927	34	607	920	945	812	602	1,007
1932	4,553	35	536	817	927	767	533	938
1931	4,189	37	492	808	876	682	521	773
1930	4,085	25	495	787	840	677	450	811
1929	3,824	9	460	720	798	612	488	737
1928	3,892	18	446	740	790	676	495	727
1927	3,564	24	422	699	686	647	457	629
1926	3,329	21	395	635	672	575	372	659
1925	3,571	29	407	703	767	622	435	608
1924	3,250	19	385	652	662	565	395	572
1923	3,277	19	432	649	682	542	373	580
1922	3,234	7	369	682	674	551	377	574
1921	3,274	9	398	766	663	545	386	507
1920	3,209	13	366	726	689	539	370	506
1919	3,264	9	449	795	663	575	332	441
1918	3,267	13	452	761	668	546	322	505
1917	3,272	5	478	800	686	531	309	463
1916*	2,331	7	342	518	507	402	230	325
1915	2,944	5	468	672	623	493	291	392
1914	2,927	6	482	652	612	520	292	363
1913	2,870	11	457	616	617	478	291	400
1912	2,732	4	483	620	580	390	278	377
1911	2,687	8	432	611	583	450	238	365

\*Nine months only, due to change in fiscal year.

## FIRST ADMISSIONS, NEW YORK, 1911-1958

Table 3 A. Rates of First Admissions per 100,000 General Population by Age,  
Fiscal Years Ended in 1911-1958  
Both Sexes

Fiscal year Ended in	Total*	Age						65 and over
		5-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	
1958	103.8	21.0	96.0	104.7	88.9	90.5	111.4	393.0
1957	99.0	20.6	84.0	99.4	82.0	84.8	111.6	388.1
1956	99.1	13.0	79.7	94.4	85.6	85.5	113.9	410.7
1955	99.2	8.0	74.1	96.9	85.4	83.4	117.8	423.6
1954	101.4	11.8	79.3	100.9	87.0	90.1	116.0	415.4
1953	101.9	12.2	78.7	99.9	87.5	88.4	122.3	419.4
1952	97.4	10.0	75.8	90.2	83.5	85.5	113.2	414.8
1951	102.0	11.6	79.6	92.5	87.7	93.6	123.6	421.5
1950	106.1	12.2	83.0	94.8	93.7	97.5	136.6	427.1
1949	103.1	10.2	76.2	92.9	90.7	95.6	138.8	413.6
1948	100.4	11.6	74.9	86.0	89.3	95.8	134.4	404.5
1947	93.7	9.6	66.9	81.2	84.5	90.5	127.8	373.1
1946	91.7	7.6	58.3	71.2	79.5	90.7	127.2	395.7
1945	90.8	10.1	57.0	68.6	76.7	87.6	132.3	391.9
1944	97.1	7.4	58.5	70.6	76.8	96.0	138.6	442.5
1943**	96.0	9.2	55.9	72.6	84.0	98.5	140.1	407.6
1942	105.2	10.0	62.2	82.0	98.9	110.8	154.6	422.5
1941	104.6	6.5	63.0	87.5	101.9	115.2	160.7	389.2
1940	102.2	6.8	62.0	90.8	98.7	120.3	153.4	362.6
1939	104.3	7.7	60.6	94.4	106.8	121.9	157.8	359.4
1938	102.5	8.8	60.8	88.4	107.1	122.2	154.5	350.0
1937	102.9	9.8	62.0	91.3	106.9	123.6	155.6	342.1
1936	100.2	7.6	58.0	87.5	103.9	126.2	151.2	332.7
1935	98.3	6.1	59.8	84.2	107.4	119.4	150.2	323.7
1934	97.9	6.2	60.2	83.9	108.3	125.7	153.8	302.3
1933	95.7	5.0	58.6	89.2	104.7	122.3	148.1	289.5
1932	90.4	3.9	57.5	80.5	99.9	116.7	135.8	280.2
1931	83.6	4.0	53.8	78.0	96.6	107.4	127.3	242.9
1930	83.2	2.7	52.7	78.0	96.8	107.0	119.9	250.8
1929	80.7	1.6	51.9	70.9	91.6	104.5	127.6	243.1
1928	82.7	2.5	49.8	79.9	95.3	106.9	129.3	236.7
1927	77.6	2.5	48.3	73.8	89.7	102.4	121.3	217.2
1926	73.3	2.4	44.8	71.0	84.6	90.4	102.9	228.6
1925	75.7	3.1	47.9	74.0	92.8	96.7	108.8	212.4
1924	72.0	2.2	46.4	71.4	89.2	93.1	106.1	195.2
1923	73.8	1.9	48.8	71.4	90.6	91.8	108.6	209.2
1922	76.6	0.9	51.6	78.2	93.2	96.3	110.8	212.7
1921	76.5	1.5	53.3	85.9	95.8	93.7	112.2	192.9
1920	74.3	1.1	51.1	82.0	90.5	93.6	109.6	189.8

\*Standardized, based on male age distribution in the 1950 general population.

\*\*Estimated for full year.

Table 3 A. Rates of First Admissions per 100,00 General Population by Age,  
Fiscal Years Ended in 1911-1958  
Both Sexes (concluded)

Fiscal Year Ended in	Total*	Age						65 and over
		5-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	
1919	77.2	1.2	53.4	86.0	99.7	101.1	105.0	186.6
1918	78.2	1.8	55.0	86.8	97.9	103.2	103.6	196.6
1917	79.2	0.7	58.6	92.6	97.7	104.2	115.3	180.9
1916**	77.3	1.3	55.7	82.2	97.7	96.6	111.8	195.7
1915	72.5	0.7	56.3	78.1	94.2	93.0	105.8	167.0
1914	75.2	0.8	57.1	81.3	96.4	104.8	108.1	165.1
1913	74.8	1.0	54.4	76.9	93.6	102.4	111.3	177.7
1912	71.6	0.6	53.0	76.7	92.0	91.8	104.4	171.6
1911	72.2	0.9	50.5	79.5	91.9	99.7	104.1	164.2

\*Standardized, based on age distribution in the 1950 general population.

\*\*Estimated for full year.

Table 3 B. Rates of First Admissions per 100,000 General Population by Age,  
Fiscal Years Ended in 1911-1958  
Males

Fiscal Year Ended in	Total*	Age						65 and over
		5-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	
1958	109.0	30.2	116.4	114.5	94.1	94.5	115.5	400.4
1957	99.3	27.2	98.4	107.0	79.8	82.1	114.0	377.9
1956	100.0	17.9	96.1	100.6	88.8	83.8	116.5	398.2
1955	100.3	11.8	92.6	106.5	80.8	80.9	126.3	416.1
1954	101.8	15.7	88.7	107.3	84.4	90.7	128.1	409.2
1953	101.8	15.9	89.4	104.8	87.4	80.8	132.0	419.8
1952	94.9	12.4	81.2	91.4	77.5	79.7	120.3	413.9
1951	103.4	13.6	90.0	98.4	87.2	95.4	131.6	429.7
1950	109.6	14.7	96.3	102.9	96.2	99.4	147.0	440.4
1949	104.9	13.4	86.7	95.4	90.8	94.6	153.0	424.6
1948	99.2	15.4	83.7	87.3	83.3	91.0	145.2	402.7
1947	92.3	14.7	74.0	80.6	83.6	87.0	134.2	365.2
1946	87.7	11.3	59.1	65.0	74.4	85.8	130.2	393.8
1945	86.2	13.9	56.1	56.7	68.1	80.5	137.5	404.0
1944	92.5	10.4	60.4	62.1	74.5	84.1	141.9	445.2
1943**	98.0	11.7	65.2	73.7	85.8	96.4	151.2	425.7
1942	108.4	13.0	69.2	86.4	107.1	106.3	166.4	442.6
1941	109.5	8.6	68.4	92.7	109.3	115.2	179.9	417.2
1940	107.4	9.6	71.5	97.0	102.2	125.6	165.9	390.6

\*Standardized, based on male age distribution in the 1950 general population.

\*\*Estimated for full year.

## FIRST ADMISSIONS, NEW YORK, 1911-1958

Table 3 B. Rates of First Admissions per 100,000 General Population by Age,  
Fiscal Years Ended in 1911-1958  
Males (concluded)

Fiscal Year Ended in	Total*	Age						65 and over
		5-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	
1939	110.7	9.3	67.1	103.3	112.5	128.1	176.7	386.8
1938	108.3	11.6	70.2	96.8	118.0	119.8	171.6	371.5
1937	111.1	11.6	71.6	96.1	121.9	130.9	172.8	375.9
1936	106.2	8.6	64.0	93.9	111.1	129.0	171.3	365.2
1935	103.5	6.6	66.5	93.1	112.1	122.5	167.1	346.5
1934	106.4	6.6	69.7	89.9	119.4	140.0	171.8	333.6
1933	104.5	6.6	64.0	97.2	114.1	134.4	172.8	322.7
1932	98.7	4.4	68.1	88.3	105.3	126.7	159.6	312.6
1931	90.6	4.6	64.4	83.3	102.0	117.3	142.1	273.8
1930	89.8	2.9	61.4	84.3	104.8	115.3	140.4	271.2
1929	88.3	2.3	62.2	75.2	97.2	117.8	144.7	272.8
1928	89.0	3.3	58.5	90.2	103.4	111.5	143.9	256.4
1927	83.9	2.6	57.0	81.0	101.6	105.1	134.1	242.6
1926	78.3	2.7	51.7	80.5	91.4	90.4	115.4	250.2
1925	77.1	3.3	56.0	78.7	95.0	93.5	108.7	227.4
1924	74.9	2.5	54.3	77.3	97.8	93.2	110.5	197.3
1923	76.2	1.8	53.1	76.4	95.9	92.2	118.5	217.1
1922	80.7	1.1	65.1	85.3	99.7	97.4	118.8	219.3
1921	79.3	2.1	64.2	90.5	104.0	91.0	116.0	197.2
1920	74.3	0.9	62.9	85.7	88.5	89.8	112.4	185.7
1919	79.2	1.4	58.1	85.3	108.6	96.5	112.1	204.8
1918	79.5	2.1	61.0	89.4	103.3	103.8	110.1	195.2
1917	81.9	0.8	65.6	95.6	99.2	106.7	135.4	177.6
1916**	80.1	1.5	62.4	86.0	99.4	89.3	126.8	220.0
1915	75.2	0.9	62.1	79.9	99.8	90.2	119.9	177.5
1914	78.9	0.9	61.6	86.4	103.1	104.7	120.3	181.1
1913	77.7	0.6	58.9	80.7	95.4	106.0	124.4	187.0
1912	74.3	0.7	53.0	78.6	96.1	100.8	112.1	181.9
1911	75.0	0.7	53.8	84.0	94.0	101.8	123.2	168.6

\*Standardized, based on male age distribution in the 1950 general population.

\*\*Estimated for full year.

Table 3 C. Rates of First Admissions per 100,000 General Population by Age,  
Fiscal Years Ended in 1911-1958  
Females

Fiscal year Ended in	Total*	Age						65 and over
		5-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	
1958	98.4	11.5	76.9	95.9	84.3	86.8	107.4	386.9
1957	98.4	13.7	70.7	92.5	84.1	87.5	109.2	396.6
1956	98.3	7.9	64.3	89.0	82.7	87.2	111.3	421.1
1955	98.1	4.0	56.9	88.3	89.6	85.8	109.5	429.9
1954	100.7	7.7	70.6	95.2	89.3	89.4	104.1	420.5

\*Standardized, based on male age distribution in the 1950 general population.



Table 3 C. Rates of First Admissions per 100,000 General Population by Age,  
Fiscal Years Ended in 1911-1958  
Females (concluded)

Fiscal Year Ended in	Total*	Age						
		5-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 and over
1953	101.9	8.4	68.9	95.4	87.6	95.8	112.8	419.1
1952	99.6	7.4	70.8	89.1	89.0	91.2	106.1	415.6
1951	100.3	9.5	70.0	87.1	88.2	91.8	115.6	414.8
1950	102.5	9.5	70.6	87.4	91.3	95.5	126.2	416.0
1949	101.0	6.9	66.5	90.7	90.6	96.6	124.3	404.5
1948	101.4	6.7	66.8	84.8	94.9	100.7	123.4	406.0
1947	94.8	4.4	60.4	81.7	85.3	94.1	121.3	379.8
1946	95.4	3.7	57.5	76.7	84.4	95.7	124.1	397.3
1945	95.2	6.2	57.9	79.1	85.1	94.8	126.9	381.7
1944	101.4	4.2	56.8	78.1	79.0	108.3	135.3	440.3
1943**	94.0	6.7	47.1	71.5	82.2	100.7	128.8	392.3
1942	102.3	6.9	55.5	77.9	90.9	115.5	142.6	405.5
1941	99.5	4.3	57.9	82.7	94.5	115.2	141.3	365.3
1940	96.9	3.9	52.8	85.0	95.2	114.7	140.9	338.6
1939	98.0	6.0	54.4	86.1	100.9	115.2	138.7	335.8
1938	96.7	5.9	51.5	80.4	96.0	124.7	137.3	331.5
1937	94.8	7.9	52.7	86.8	91.6	115.9	138.3	312.9
1936	93.8	6.7	52.1	81.4	96.5	123.2	131.1	304.6
1935	93.2	5.7	53.4	75.6	102.6	116.2	133.4	304.0
1934	89.2	5.8	51.1	78.0	96.8	110.5	135.9	275.0
1933	86.8	3.3	53.5	81.3	94.9	109.6	123.6	260.5
1932	82.0	3.3	47.3	72.8	94.3	106.2	112.3	251.8
1931	76.4	3.5	43.5	72.7	90.2	96.9	112.7	215.6
1930	76.4	2.4	44.5	71.8	88.2	98.3	99.7	232.8
1929	73.1	0.9	42.1	66.7	85.7	90.6	110.6	216.9
1928	76.2	1.7	41.6	69.6	86.7	102.0	114.9	219.4
1927	70.7	2.3	40.1	66.8	77.0	99.6	108.6	194.8
1926	68.1	2.1	38.3	61.6	77.3	90.4	90.6	209.7
1925	74.0	2.9	40.3	69.4	90.5	100.0	108.8	199.3
1924	69.3	1.9	39.0	65.5	80.2	93.0	101.6	193.4
1923	71.2	2.0	44.8	66.4	84.8	91.4	98.8	202.4
1922	72.5	0.7	39.2	71.0	86.2	95.2	102.8	207.0
1921	74.0	1.0	43.2	81.3	87.2	96.5	108.5	189.1
1920	74.5	1.4	40.2	78.3	92.6	97.5	106.8	193.3
1919	74.9	1.0	49.2	86.8	90.3	105.9	97.9	170.6
1918	76.7	1.4	49.4	84.2	92.2	102.4	97.1	198.0
1917	77.0	0.6	52.1	89.6	96.0	101.5	95.3	183.9
1916**	74.7	1.1	49.5	78.4	96.0	104.4	96.9	174.3
1915	70.0	0.6	50.8	76.3	88.4	96.0	91.8	157.8
1914	71.3	0.7	52.9	76.0	89.4	104.9	96.0	151.1
1913	71.9	1.3	50.1	73.0	91.6	98.7	98.4	169.5
1912	68.8	0.5	53.0	74.6	87.6	82.4	96.8	162.6
1911	69.1	1.0	47.4	74.8	89.7	97.4	85.4	160.4

\*Standardized, based on female age distribution in the 1950 general population.

\*\*Estimated for full year.

MALE FIRST ADMISSION RATES PER 100,000 GENERAL POPULATION, BY AGE, 1911-1958

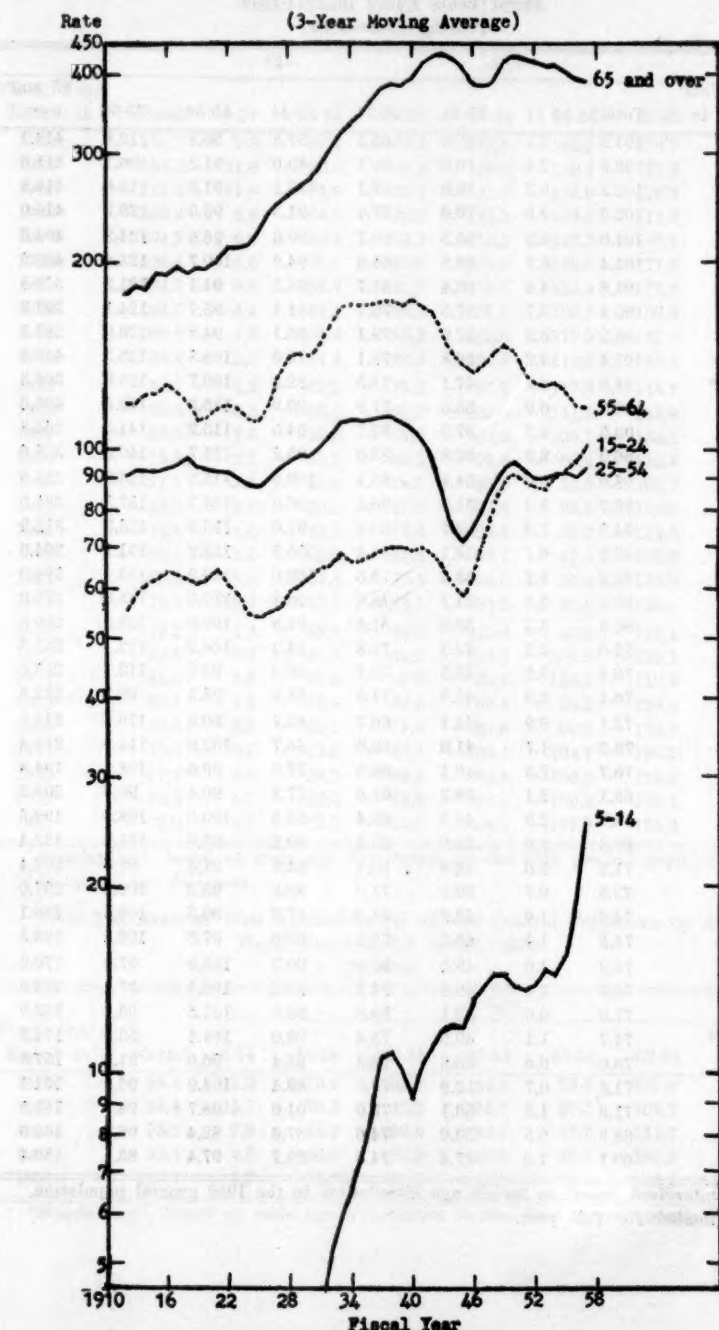


Figure 2.

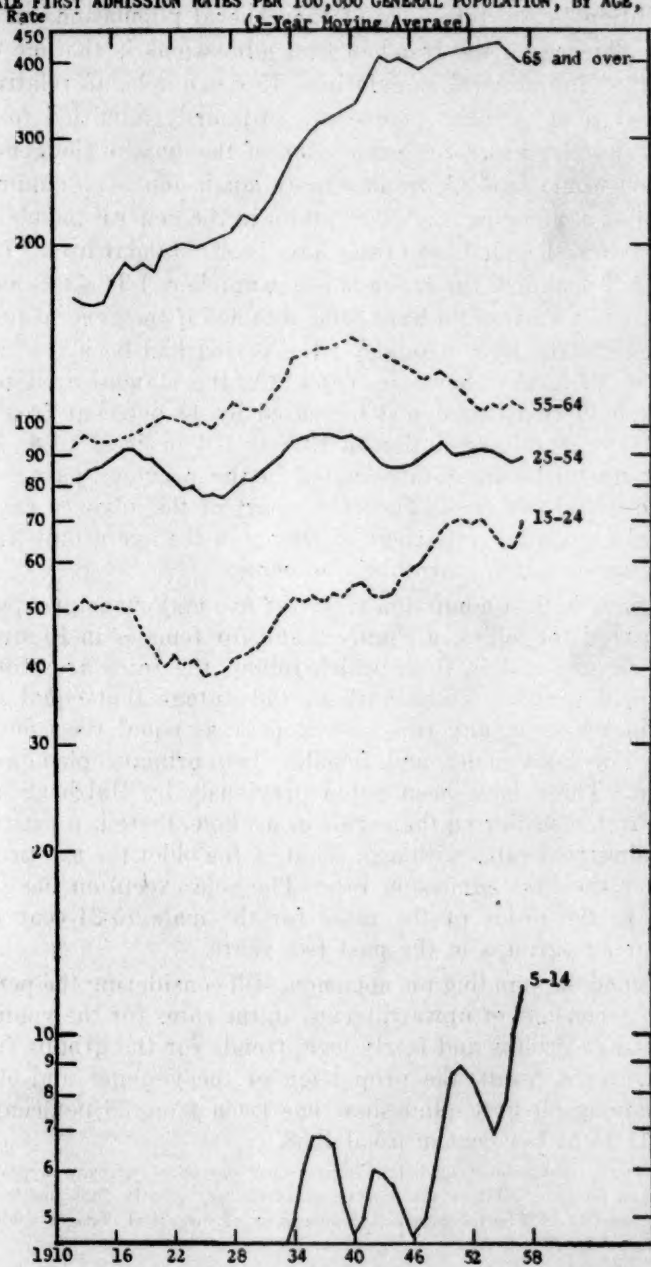
FEMALE FIRST ADMISSION RATES PER 100,000 GENERAL POPULATION, BY AGE, 1911-1958  
(3-Year Moving Average)

Figure 3.

In addition to the total size of the general population, an important influence on the trend in first admissions is the age distribution of the general population. For example, if relatively more aged than younger people are ordinarily admitted to the mental hospitals, a growing proportion of the aged in the general population would tend to produce more admissions. To eliminate the effect of a changing age distribution in the general population over the years, the admission rates have been "standardized." (See Tables 2A, 2B, and 2C for first-admission numbers.) This technique gives the rates that would have been obtained if the general population age distribution throughout the period had been the same as that in 1950. As shown in Table 3A, the standardized total rates for both sexes combined increased by 44 per cent from 72 per 100,000 general population in 1911 to 104 in fiscal 1958. The crude or unstandardized rates noted in the previous paragraph increased by 66 per cent. Therefore, part of the advance can be attributed to rising proportions of people in the age groups from which admissions are more likely to come.

The trends in first admission rates for five major age groupings are compared for males in Figure 2 and for females in Figure 3. In these figures and in those which follow, the rates are plotted semi-logarithmically. These have the advantage that equal *percentage* increases in any two lines appear as equal rises on the graph.\* For both males and females, two primary phenomena stand out. These have been noted previously by Malzberg<sup>1</sup> and others. First, considering the period as a whole, there is a progression of admission rates with age. That is, the older the age group, the higher the first admission rate. The sole exception lies in a reversal in the order of the rates for the male 15-24-year and 25-54-year age groups in the past few years.

The second outstanding phenomenon, still considering the period as a whole, consists of upward trends in the rates for the younger and older age groups and fairly level trends for the groups from 25 to 64. As a result, the proportion of the younger and older groups among all first admissions has risen from 28 per cent in fiscal 1911 to 51 per cent in fiscal 1958.

\*In the more conventional arithmetic chart equal *numerical* increases appear as equal rises on the graph. Where the numbers involved vary greatly from one line to another as they do in Figures 2 and 3, comparisons of numerical changes could be misleading.



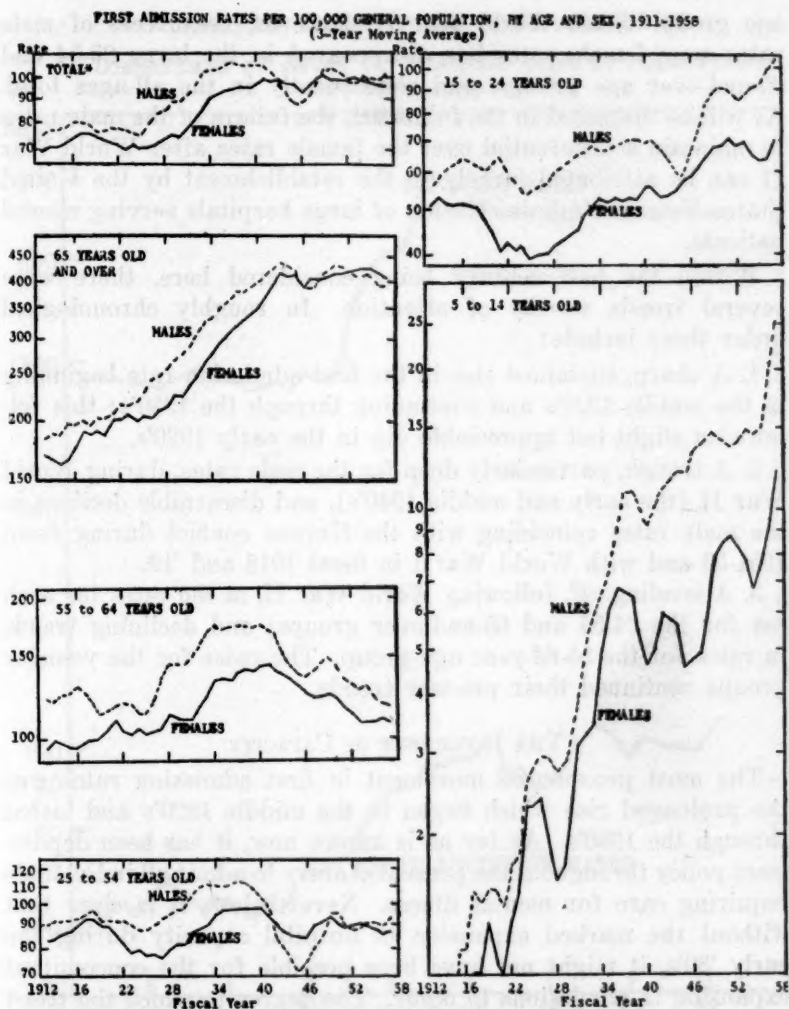


Figure 4.

The similarity of the over-all trends in rates for males and females within each age group is shown in Figure 4. This chart merely presents a re-arrangement of the material in Figures 2 and 3, in order to make direct comparisons between the trends for the two sexes. Before World War II (that is, until the early 1940's), the rates for males were above those for females in every

age group. Since World War II, however, the excess of male rates over female rates has disappeared in the large 25-54 and 65-and-over age groups, and consequently in the all-ages total. As will be discussed in the following, the failure of the male rates to maintain a differential over the female rates after World War II can be attributed largely to the establishment by the United States Veterans Administration of large hospitals serving mental patients.

Within the half century being considered here, there were several trends worthy of attention. In roughly chronological order these include:

1. A sharp, sustained rise in the first admission rate beginning in the middle 1920's and continuing through the 1930's; this followed a slight but appreciable dip in the early 1920's.
2. A trough, particularly deep for the male rates, during World War II (the early and middle 1940's), and discernible declines in the male rates coinciding with the Korean conflict during fiscal 1951-53 and with World War I in fiscal 1918 and '19.
3. A leveling-off, following World War II, in the rates for each sex for the 24-54 and 65-and-over groups; and declining trends in rates for the 55-64-year age group. The rates for the younger groups continued their pre-war trends.

#### THE INFLUENCE OF CAPACITY

The most pronounced movement in first admission rates was the prolonged rise which began in the middle 1920's and lasted through the 1930's. As far as is known now, it has been department policy throughout the present century to admit all individuals requiring care for mental illness. Nevertheless, it is clear that without the marked expansion in hospital capacity during the early '30's, it might not have been possible for the concomitant expansion in admissions to occur. The degree to which the trend in certified capacity rates accompanied the trend in first admission rates is shown in Figure 5.

As a result of a concerted building program the certified capacity rate of the department's hospitals increased by 60 per cent from 1930 to 1938. This was made possible by voter approval of two \$50,000,000 bond issues, one in 1924 and one in 1930, and it was aided appreciably by federal emergency relief funds and the use of WPA workers for many renovations and improvements.

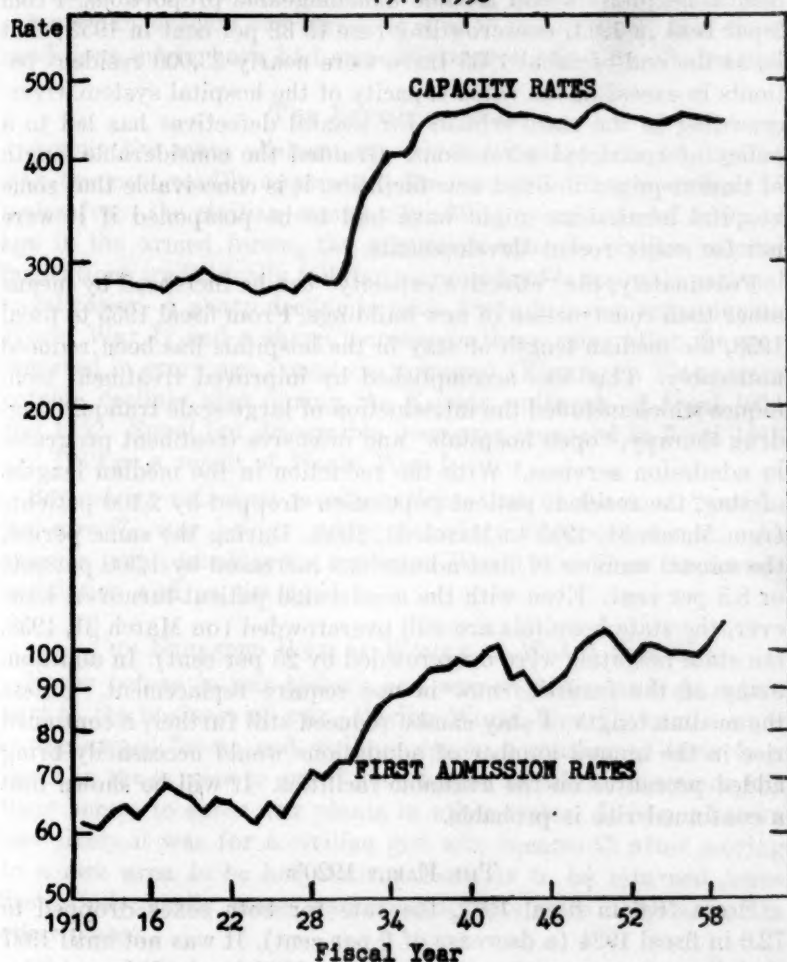
**CERTIFIED CAPACITY AND FIRST ADMISSIONS****Comparison of Rates per 100,000 General Population  
1911-1958**

Figure 5.

Over the two decades preceding that building program and over the two decades following it, the certified capacity per 100,000 general population showed practically no change. This means that the building that has taken place since 1938 (as well as that before 1931) has merely matched the growth in the general popula-

tion of the state. With admissions growing faster than the general population, it has seemed likely that overcrowding in the state mental hospitals would assume unmanageable proportions. From 9 per cent in 1911, overcrowding rose to 32 per cent in 1955; that is, at the end of fiscal 1955 there were nearly 23,000 resident patients in excess of the rated capacity of the hospital system. Overcrowding in the state schools for mental defectives has led to a policy of restricted admissions. Granted the considerable length of time required to build new facilities, it is conceivable that some hospital admissions might have had to be postponed if it were not for some recent developments.

Fortunately, the "effective capacity" can be increased by means other than construction of new buildings. From fiscal 1955 to fiscal 1958, the median length of stay in the hospitals has been reduced noticeably. This was accomplished by improved treatment techniques which included the introduction of large-scale tranquilizing-drug therapy, "open hospitals" and intensive treatment programs in admission services.<sup>2</sup> With the reduction in the median lengths of stay, the resident patient population dropped by 2,100 patients from March 31, 1955 to March 31, 1958. During the same period, the annual number of first admissions increased by 1,300 patients or 8.5 per cent. Even with the accelerated patient-turnover, however, the state hospitals are still overcrowded (on March 31, 1958, the state hospitals were overcrowded by 25 per cent). In addition, many of the facilities now in use require replacement. Unless the median length of stay can be reduced still further, a continued rise in the annual number of admissions would necessarily bring added pressures on the available facilities. It will be shown that a continued rise is probable.

#### THE EARLY 1920's

From 76.6 in fiscal 1922, the rate for both sexes dropped to 72.0 in fiscal 1924 (a decrease of 6 per cent). It was not until 1927 that the rate regained and passed the 1922 level. It is not possible at this late date to explain, with any assurance, the dip in male and female first admissions rates which occurred in the early 1920's. It is not likely that the opening of Veterans Administration hospitals after World War I had an appreciable effect, since the decline for females accompanied that for males. Indeed, the trough for females was of a longer duration (Figure 4). Depart-



ment records of the time do not refer to the decline, probably because of its relatively modest size. However, overcrowding in the early '20's was serious, and existing installations were considered dangerously overtaxed. It is open to conjecture that these conditions might have had some restrictive effect on admissions.

#### THE EFFECT OF WAR

Among the many dislocations which affect society in time of war, the most readily apparent is the removal of large numbers of males from the civilian community. With many men of military age in the armed forces, the admission rates to civilian mental institutions traditionally fall during periods of large-scale national mobilization. A sharp decline in male first-admission rates during World War II and a sharp increase in these rates after the war occurred in every age except the youngest (Figure 4). There were notable declines also during the Korean outbreak of fiscal 1951 and 1952. Small but discernible decreases occurred in fiscal 1918 and 1919 as a result of World War I.

Beyond its principal manifestation—that of the men “marching away”—war brings many secondary disarrangements. As cases in point, consider the impact of World War II on the female population and on the aged.

#### THE EXPANDED ROLE OF WOMEN IN WORLD WAR II

Never before in our history had women taken such an active part in the business of war. During World War II, women were in the armed forces and civilian women accompanied their husbands in the service to out-of-state bases. In addition, women left their homes to enter war plants in other states. It is not known how likely it was for a civilian girl who became ill after moving to a new area to be hospitalized there or to be returned home first. Undoubtedly some wartime migrants were hospitalized in other states.

Of possibly greater importance than the temporary absence of many women from the state, was the availability of employment. The requirements of the war effort made it necessary to employ many marginal workers, some perhaps of the mentally ill who would not be able to find jobs in normal times. Some of these might otherwise have had to be hospitalized, partly for economic reasons. In the case of others, their very employment in a pro-

ductive way might have prevented or postponed the outbreak of mental illness. These considerations are examined in more detail in the discussion of "The War and the Aged."

As shown in Table 4, there was a substantial trough in female first admissions aged 25 to 54 years during the war. There was a small dip for the group 15 to 24, but, as shown in Table 3C, this was due to a low rate in a single year, 1943.

Assigning causes to these declines requires caution. Intuitively, one would be inclined to attribute the reductions in female first admission rates to the temporary absence of thousands of females from the state. However, as already noted, some would attribute the fall to a bona fide decrease in the incidence of mental illness during the war. Because of the relatively small size of the decline and the multiplicity of possible causes, it is not possible to prove or disprove the latter hypothesis. Moreover, there is the further possibility that the fall in rates for females was itself an artifact. This is discussed further.

#### THE WAR AND THE AGED

Part way through World War II, first admission rates for the group 65 years old and over fell for both males and females. Inasmuch as the proportion of persons aged 65 or more who were in the armed forces was insignificant, even during the war, the fall in admission rates for this group is of particular interest. Several tentative explanations can be considered. For one, the war effort made jobs available for older workers. Remaining active and productive may have prevented some from requiring admission to mental institutions. Perhaps the very existence of the national emergency and of the many personal emergencies, involving fear for the well-being of relatives, diverted the aged from excessive worry about themselves. Thus, the actual incidence of mental disorder might have decreased.

The general economic conditions associated with the war effort may have had a bearing on the reduction in admissions of the aged. First, as already noted, the older person was more likely to have a job during the war. This meant that he was able to support himself so that he would not represent a financial burden to his family. Moreover, the over-all financial picture for the typical family was uniquely bright. Many of the customary breadwinners who were not in service worked in war industry for

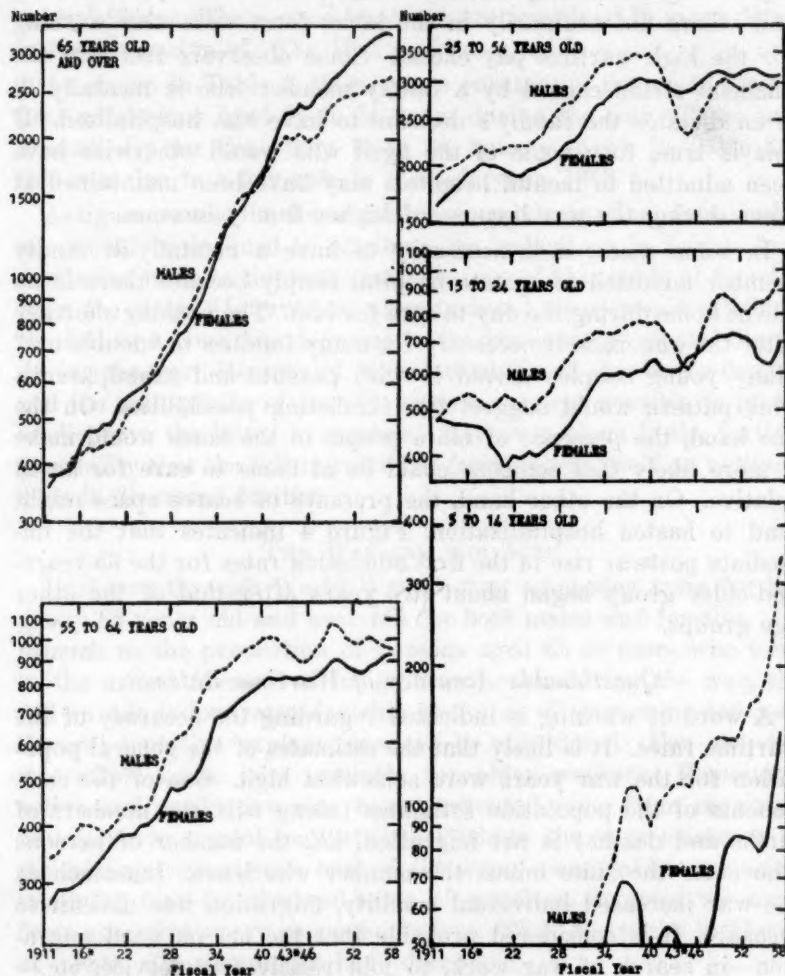
higher wages than they had ever earned before. Many housewives and others not ordinarily in the labor force were also working for the high wartime pay checks. Some observers feel that the financial strain caused by a family member who is mentally ill often dictates the family's decision to have him hospitalized. If this is true, then some of the aged who would otherwise have been admitted to mental hospitals may have been maintained at home during the war because of higher family incomes.

In some cases, it is necessary to have a mentally-ill family member admitted to a state hospital simply because there is no one at home during the day to care for him. The housing shortage after the war made it necessary for many families to "double-up." Many young couples moved in with parents and grandparents. This pattern would suggest two conflicting possibilities. On the one hand, the presence of more people in the home would make it more likely that someone could be at home to care for an ill relative. On the other hand, the pressure of scarce space might tend to hasten hospitalization. Figure 4 indicates that the immediate postwar rise in the first admission rates for the 65-years-and-older group began about two years after that of the other age groups.

#### *Questionable Accuracy of Wartime Rates*

A word of warning is indicated regarding the accuracy of the wartime rates. It is likely that the estimates of the general population for the war years were somewhat high. One of the components of the population estimates (along with the numbers of births and deaths) is net migration, i.e., the number of persons who enter the state minus the number who leave. Inasmuch as the war increased individual mobility, migration was difficult to measure. It is considered probable that the net outward migration—in search of war work, to join relatives in service, etc.—was underestimated. This would have made the population estimates high. Since the rates are obtained by dividing the number of first admissions by the population from which they are drawn, an overestimated population produces an understated rate. There is no way at this date to judge the size of the understatement. However, some of the findings based on rates can be evaluated further by examining trends in the actual numbers of first admissions.

## FIRST ADMISSIONS, NEW YORK, 1911-1958

NUMBER OF FIRST ADMISSIONS BY AGE AND SEX, 1911-1958  
(3-Year Moving Average)

\*Estimated for full year based on 9 months due to change in fiscal year.

Figure 6.

## THE NUMBER OF FIRST ADMISSIONS

Trends in the number of first admissions by age and sex are shown in Figure 6. In no way do the patterns shown for World War II in Figure 6 weaken the findings based on rates. On the contrary, trends in the number of admissions strengthen previously tenuous conclusions in some cases. In the 15-24, 25-54 and



55-64-year age groups, the wartime troughs in male first admissions parallel those noted earlier. For females, the numbers of first admissions 15-24 and 25-54 years old show the same decline as did rates. Moreover, Figure 6 shows that the number of female admissions aged 55-64 leveled off during the war after rising consistently for many years.

The rates for males and females 65 and over have been shown to have decreased during the war. Although the corresponding numbers of first admissions did not decline in an absolute sense, they did retreat downward from their long-term, sharply upward trend. This means that, were it not for World War II, admissions of the elderly might have continued their rapid pre-war growth.

#### POSTWAR TRENDS

Of paramount concern in planning for the future is the pattern of the most recent past. The trends in first admissions since World War II are examined here in this context. The salient features of the past decade as determined from Figures 4 and 6 are discussed in the following sections.

##### *Postwar Trends in Male Admissions*

In each of the age groups 25 and over, male rates have failed to regain their pre-war margin over female rates. In terms of numbers of first admissions in the large 25-54 group, the male number, consistently higher before the war, has been running below the corresponding female number since the war. The gap between the male and female numbers 55-64 has narrowed and nearly disappeared. The numbers of male and female first admissions 65 and over, which had been very close before the war, have separated with the male number falling below the female number.

Some male admissions that might have gone to state mental hospitals have been diverted to Veterans Administration hospitals. The extent of this diversion is unknown, however, inasmuch as the form in which the Veterans Administration records are maintained makes it impossible to obtain data on first admissions to the psychiatric units of these institutions. Nevertheless, it is known that of the male resident patients in all civil mental hospitals in New York State on June 30, 1957, 13 per cent were in Veterans Administration hospitals.\*

\*United States Veterans Administration and New York State Department of Mental Hygiene.

Contrary to the practice in the New York State hospitals, admissions to Veterans Administration hospitals are routinely deferred—based on a system of priorities—until space within the rated capacity is available. For example, while veterans with service-connected disabilities are admitted immediately, those with non-service-connected conditions must wait until space is available.<sup>3</sup> Thus, it is possible that admissions to Veterans Administration hospitals will remain constant unless more facilities are built or unless some existing capacity is transferred from general hospital use to psychiatric use. It is not unlikely, therefore, that as more of the vast army of veterans of World War II and the Korean conflict reach the advanced ages where the incidence of hospitalization for mental disorder is high, smaller proportions of veterans' admissions will go to the limited facilities in the Veterans Administration system. As a consequence, greater pressure on the state hospital system may tend to develop.

#### *Admissions 65 or More Years of Age*

After three decades of continued rise, the first admission rates for those 65 and over have been level since the war, and even slightly downward in very recent years (Figure 4). This does not necessarily imply that relatively fewer of the aged are developing mental illness. In the writers' opinion, this reflects the development of alternative means of caring for the aged and infirm mentally ill. There seems to have been some change in philosophy about the need for moving aged persons with slight mental illnesses from general institutions for the aged to mental hospitals. There has also been the construction of new institutions and the addition of capacity in older ones. This has resulted in an increasing willingness on the part of operators of institutions for the aged to care for some psychiatric patients.

There are several types of institutions for the aged. These include homes for the aged, nursing homes and convalescent homes. They may be public or private, sectarian or nonsectarian, proprietary or nonprofit; some are operated by labor unions or fraternal societies. In the proprietary nursing homes alone, the total bed capacity in New York State has nearly doubled from 11,856 beds in 1949 to 23,556 beds at the end of calendar 1958.\* An in-

\*New York State Department of Social Welfare and New York City Department of Hospitals.

dication of the likelihood that many persons with mental illness are cared for outside of mental hospitals is provided by Brightman, et al.<sup>4</sup> as follows: "... of the total patients cared for in nursing homes, 48 per cent were always clear mentally; 33 per cent were confused part of the time, while 19 per cent were confused most of the time."<sup>5</sup>

Although the trend in rates has leveled off, the numbers of male and female first admissions 65 and over have continued to increase since the war (Figure 6). From a postwar low of 4,257 in fiscal 1947, the annual number of first admissions 65 and over has risen steadily to 6,177 in fiscal 1958. This is an increase of 45 per cent. Thus, in fiscal 1958 there were 1,920 more first admissions 65 and over than in fiscal 1947 and at the end of fiscal 1958, first admissions 65 and over accounted for 36 per cent of the total.

The expansion in the general population 65 and over has been pronounced, and there is reason to feel that this expansion may accelerate in the future. Thus, even if admission rates for this age group remain constant, the number of first admissions may continue to rise. The degree to which this may be offset by the development of alternative facilities is at present uncertain.

In the discussion of the effect of capacity, it was noted that a reduction in the average length of hospital stay has the effect of increasing capacity. It was noted also that recent advances in psychiatric therapy have tended to reduce the average length of hospitalization for most categories of patients. With geriatric patients, however, advances in *medical* therapy may tend to have the opposite effect. Many aged patients admitted to state mental hospitals are very seriously ill in a physical sense when they arrive. Many fail to survive for more than a few weeks in spite of the application of the best medical techniques now known. Cohort studies of hospital admissions during fiscal 1955 and 1957 conducted by the New York State Department of Mental Hygiene indicate that of the first admissions 65 years of age or over, an average of roughly 8 per cent died within 15 days of their admissions and nearly 20 per cent died within 45 days. These studies also indicate a possible lengthening of the duration of hospitalization for aged patients. The percentages of patients still in the hospital at specified numbers of months after admission are com-

<sup>4</sup>This study included homes in New York State outside of New York City.

pared for two groups of first admissions aged 65 and over as follows:

*Admissions 65 Years of Age and Over*

Number of Months after Admission	Per Cent Still in Hospital	
	Admitted in April, May and June, 1954	Admitted in April, May and June, 1956
½	91.0	92.4
1½	77.9	80.7
2½	70.4	72.3
3½	64.5	66.3
4½	60.9	61.6
5½	56.6	57.6

*Admissions Less Than 25 Years Old*

The most rapid proportionate rise in both rates and numbers of first admissions since World War II has occurred in the youngest age groups, particularly in the group under 15 years of age (Figures 4 and 6). While first admissions less than 15 years of age accounted for only 3 per cent of the total in fiscal 1958, the specialized type of care these children require makes their rapid increase in admissions worthy of particular administrative attention. The group 5-14 is equivalent to the total under 15 since there are ordinarily only one or two admissions under 5 years of age each year.

Figures 4 and 6 show sharp rises in the rates and numbers for both sexes 5-14 and for males 15 to 24. Contrary to the experience in the three older age groups which contain large numbers of veterans, males aged 15 to 24 regained their pre-war margin in first admissions over females. Relatively few in this age group are veterans. In the 5-14 category the substantial male differential over females, while varying from year to year because of the small size of the numbers involved, has been of the order of 2 to 1 since the late 1930's.

*Admissions 25 to 64 Years Old*

The trends for the 25-54 group have been generally level since the war. For first admissions aged 55 to 64, the trends in rates have been falling. While these rates have tended downward, the expansion in the general population aged 55 to 64 has kept the annual number of first admissions level.



First admissions 25 to 64 years of age accounted for 49 per cent of the total in fiscal 1958. As recently as 1949, these age groups represented 55 per cent of the first admissions. If current trends continue (i.e., if the number in these central age groups remains relatively constant and the numbers in the younger and older groups continue to increase), the proportion of all admissions accounted for by patients in the central age groups will decline further.

#### THE INCIDENCE OF MENTAL ILLNESS

The incidence of an illness is the number of new cases of the illness occurring within a specified time. An incidence rate is defined as the ratio of the number of new cases during a time interval to the population subject to the risk of developing the illness. The concept of incidence and the related concept of prevalence in studies of mental disorders have been discussed by Kramer.<sup>5</sup>

First admissions to mental hospitals have been used as indicators of the incidence of mental illness serious enough to require in-patient care in a mental hospital. For this usage to be valid, it is necessary that all persons who develop serious mental illness be admitted to mental hospitals and, in particular, that they be admitted during the period of time (e.g., the year) in which the onset of illness occurs. It is also necessary that only patients with mental illness serious enough to require in-patient care be counted. Some patients who are actually admitted to mental hospitals are found to be without "serious" mental disorder. This is a particularly thorny problem, since no generally accepted objective measure of seriousness of mental disorder or of psychiatric disability is available.

There have probably always been some mentally ill individuals who were not admitted to mental hospitals, and certainly many are not admitted during the year of onset of the disorder. In addition, over the years there has been a development of psychiatric in-patient facilities (e.g., psychiatric units in general hospitals) that are not classifiable as mental hospitals but that do treat some patients who might previously have required mental hospitalization. Some psychiatric treatment is provided in many general hospitals which do not have separate psychiatric divisions. Going one step further, even the criteria for determining who be-



comes an in-patient have been changing. It is possible that some persons who even recently might have required in-patient care are today being treated privately or in out-patient psychiatric clinics. Such clinics have been stimulated markedly by the state's Community Mental Health Program.

The net effect of the community mental health programs on mental hospital admissions cannot be evaluated precisely. There is reason to feel that the community program which prevents the admission of some individuals may actually offset this by discovering the needs of others for hospital care. It is also certain that the attitudes of the general population and of specific groups of people toward mental hospitals have changed markedly over the years. These changes must have affected the readiness of patients and families to expedite or delay hospitalization.

The purpose of this discussion is to show that the meaning of being a first admission has varied over time and that the relationship between developing a mental illness and becoming a first admission is becoming increasingly obscure. As indicated in previous sections, there is often a wide area within which the discretion of the family, the nursing home operator, etc., determine whether or not a person is admitted to a mental hospital. Often the decision is dictated by factors not directly associated with the individual's mental condition.

Thus, there are many variables that combine to determine whether a person with a mental disorder is admitted to a state mental hospital. Since these variables are numerous and often intangible, their net effect cannot be measured. At the present level of our knowledge, therefore, it is impossible to determine the relationship between first admissions and the true incidence of mental illness.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The following broad generalizations are intended merely to summarize the more important findings. Each of these points is qualified to some extent in the previous discussions.

1. For both males and females, there is a fairly steady progression of first admission rates with age. That is, the older the age group, the higher the first admission rate.
2. First admissions of the young and the old have been increasing, while those of persons of central ages have been relatively level.

3. First admissions have increased partly because of increases in the general population and in the proportion of the population represented by the age groups from which admissions are most likely to come.

4. In addition to growth due to changes in the size and composition of the general population, admissions have increased as a result of many intangible influences, such as more ready acceptance on the part of individuals of hospitalization for their dependents or for themselves.

5. The growth of alternative facilities in which some of the mentally ill are cared for has affected first admissions to the state hospitals. Among these alternative facilities are Veterans Administration hospitals, general hospitals with psychiatric divisions, private mental hospitals, nursing homes, out-patient clinics and others.

6. War tends to reduce admissions. Admissions declined sharply during World War II and discernibly during the Korean outbreak and World War I.

7. The validity of first admissions as a measure of incidence of serious mental illness has become increasingly doubtful in recent years.

\* \* \*

The present report has examined trends in first admissions by age and sex in an attempt to provide clues to the future need for mental hospital care of various types. The study is based on first admissions, because data in this form are available going back many years. However, as indicators of future trends, first admissions are at best very crude. To make reasonably precise estimates of future needs, trends in first admissions would have to be supplemented by other information, including statistics on readmissions, releases, resident patients, average duration of stay, etc. relating to the state hospital system. Such information is available in adequate detail only for a very few years. In addition, it would be necessary to know much more than can now be determined about probable developments in alternative facilities.

Nevertheless, it is important to know the probable direction that admissions of various categories of patients will take and the effect that this will have on the program of the hospitals. It is

likely that admissions will continue to increase. It is likely also that facilities and treatment techniques particularly suited to the very young and the very old will have to be expanded.

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## ADJUSTMENT OF 100 PATIENTS FOLLOWING DISCHARGE FROM LETCHWORTH VILLAGE

BY JAMES A. CAMPBELL, M.D.

Evaluation of results is a matter of practical interest in any endeavor, whether the manufacture and sale of automobiles, or of a new measure in medical treatment. This is equally true of the program of the state schools, although, in the field of mental deficiency, it is less easy to set these values in concrete form. The business sales curve—to put the problem in economic terms—the net profit, or the number of cases free of symptoms, gives a definite picture, but the picture is less clear when one comes to assessing factors of personality, education, emotional stability, job responsibility, and generally “getting along.”

The matter of getting along after discharge is of concern to all workers in the state schools, and discussion has often brought up the query on how a particular boy or girl has made out. Or someone comes back to the school to see his former teacher or matron and report his definite good fortune. The individuals who do not make good do not return to report, but the cross-files of social agencies generally bring to light the ones who are in jail or in other institutions, and the over-all impression of results fluctuates between these extremes.

The state school sees two broad groups of patients: the more seriously retarded, for whom the program is of an enlightened custodial type; and the higher grade patient, who, if the right training can be given, has a reasonable prospect of returning to the community and managing his own affairs. The present paper concerns this latter group, in an attempt to find out how many have made good, and in what way—and to find out what part the institutional experience has contributed to this. Some thought has been given also to those who have not made good, in an effort to see if this number can be decreased in the future.

This study is of a selected group discharged from Letchworth Village\* between November 1947 and April 1950. At the time of the study, these people had been back in the community for at least five years during a time when employment opportunities were at their best. Selection for study within the group of persons

\*Thiells, N. Y. state school for mental defectives.

discharged under these conditions was made in accordance with the following standards:

1. Their intelligence levels, as measured by standard psychometric test, were IQ's of 40 or more. It was felt that, for persons below this level, there was a reasonable presumption that someone was looking after them.

2. They had been in the institution for at least one year, and had been discharged for a period of at least five.

3. Cases discharged for admission to state hospitals or to correctional institutions were not included.

4. Included in the series (provided they met the other criteria), were the patients who had escaped from the institution and who at the time of discharge, generally a year later, were not known to be in other institutions. It was felt that a knowledge of the after-adjustments of the runaways might be useful in reasoning by hindsight, just how justified a patient might have been in running away.

During the time limits given, 595 cases were discharged from Letchworth Village. Of this total, 258 were selected by the foregoing criteria and were investigated.

A questionnaire was sent to each such person's family. If the family could not be reached, any lead available, including the social service exchange, was used. When a contact was established, a social worker visited the home and verified the facts by interview with the patient, family or employer. In a few cases where the patient could not be reached, letter-reports from the family or a social service agency were accepted if they gave clear pictures of the situation, but no case was included on the basis of the questionnaire alone.

In 100 cases (54 males, 46 females), sufficiently clear evaluations could be made to furnish the basis for this report. The others who had been selected for evaluation either could not be traced, or if traced, the information obtained was too sketchy to be reliable.

Evaluation was expressed under two broad terms, "successful" and "unsuccessful." The unsuccessful included the patients who at the time of the survey were in jail, in state hospitals or back in state schools, or who were obviously doing so poorly that they should be sent back to an institution. The good, or successful, cases were those of patients who were working and behaving them-



selves, or who, if not working, were getting along under the public relief agencies. It was felt that if an individual could get along well enough to manage his own affairs and not have to be back in a state school, there was some degree of success, even if he was on relief. This distinction was at times difficult to make, and is discussed later.

It was found that 66 patients (32 males, 34 females) were getting along well enough to be rated under the heading of successful adjustment. Thirty-four (22 males, 12 females) were in the unsuccessful group. Oddly enough, the average IQ of each group was precisely the same—60 in each case, with a range of 40 to 91 in the successful group, and 41 to 86 in the other.

The picture in the case of the unsuccessful group was definite enough, and present dispositions are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Unsuccessful Group

In state hospitals .....	10 (8 males, 2 females)
On parole from prison .....	1 male
In Warwick State School* .....	1 male
In prison .....	5 males
Readmitted to state schools .....	9 (5 males, 4 females).**
In the community but with no job, unable to manage own affairs and getting by only because of family help and supervision ..	7 (1 male, 6 females).
Shot and killed resisting arrest .....	1 male

\*New York State school for defective delinquents.

\*\*Of these, one male had escaped and his whereabouts was unknown. Another male was again in the community after his readmission but was adjusting poorly.

Of the 10 state hospital cases, four had been recognized as showing mental symptoms during their stays at Letchworth. In the other six cases, no such evidence was recorded. Of the whole group of 34, the records indicated, in the majority of cases, personality disorders, emotional instability, or just plain inadequacy.

The report on the 66 of the successful group was more encouraging, and the general picture is shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Successful Group

	Males	Females	Total
Working regularly .....	29	16	45
Married women keeping house in their own homes		15	15
Unemployed and living at home .....	2	3	5
Killed in action in Korea .....	1		1
	32	34	66

Of this group, six should be rated as qualified successes (two males, four females). One of the males was limited in employment to odd jobs, and the other was handicapped physically to such a degree that he could not work. One of the females had a distinctly schizoid personality; and, while she was employed, her job was in a restaurant owned and operated by her father. It was his own opinion, that, but for this special situation, she would not be able to make a community adjustment. Another of the women had a physical handicap that made her unemployable. The remaining two "qualified-success" women lived at home with their families and were simple, inadequate types. All of this "qualified" group were making a community adjustment through the help of their families and the relief agencies.

Two men were evaluated as successful adjustments where the opinion might be questioned. One had served a short jail term for larceny following discharge, but was at the time of the survey making \$65 a week in the poultry market, and the stability of his current condition was attested by the parole commission. The other, who worked on a fishing boat, lived with a woman by whom he had a child; but the report indicated that he supported them and two other illegitimate children, and had not been in jail or on relief. His present relationship, while lacking the benefit of law, seemed otherwise conventional enough. It was felt that, while his morals were dubious, he was paying his way and managing his own affairs—in his fashion.

Of the 60 persons who had jobs, the types of work included, besides part-time outside domestic work of some of the married women, full-time domestic work, farm and factory work, food service, garage and auto-assembly work, painting, work as porters, and delivery work, laboring, etc. Three men had their own businesses (painter, contractor and home repairs), and one owned his own newsstand and stationery store. The painter gave his income as around \$80 a week. The contractor and repair man refused to give any statement of income, but the store-owner said he paid a helper \$25 a week.

In reporting wages, it was necessary to make some adjustment in the case of domestics and farm workers, who received maintenance as well. This was done by adding \$15 to the reported weekly wage. This is admittedly a low figure. On this basis, the

average weekly wage of the men was \$50 and of the women, \$34. The range of wages for the whole group showed the distribution given in Table 3.

It was possible to verify the wage statements in only about half of the cases, and those chiefly in the lower brackets. For reasons of personal and family conceit, some of these statements may well be inflated, or may represent a single high point of weekly earnings with overtime. However, in the cases of a bus line garage worker and a cheese cutter, corroboration from the employer supported their statements of \$63 and \$79 respectively. In the case of an auto plant worker, the statement of \$80 a week appeared in line with the character of the job. And a woman reporting \$65 a week was found to be working in a civil service title in a state hospital in a job which rated this scale. Of the others, there were, no doubt, some exaggerations, and the figures stated did not represent true indices for annual wages.

There were 30 marriages in the series (eight men, 22 women), with 49 children reported. One woman, separated from her husband, was neglecting her child, and a social agency was about to take action. Apart from this case, the parents were taking care of their children, either by their own efforts or through relief agencies. Fourteen more children were born out-of-wedlock, two women having six each.

A number of questions come to mind in trying to account for the successful or unsuccessful adjustment of the two groups. One is whether there was any factor in the individual case that suggested any potential for success. Reference has been made to the prevalence of personality disorder and emotional instability in the unsuccessful group. Some of this group's members, as stated, were known to show mental symptoms at the time of discharge; but it is equally true that a number who later settled down had

Table 3. Range of Wages

No.	Weekly Range
3 .....	\$15-25
15 .....	25- 35
7 .....	35- 45
4 .....	45- 55
4 .....	55- 65
2 .....	65- 75
4 .....	75- 83

run stormy courses during their institutional stays. The study, unfortunately, did not make clear just what it was that caused some individuals to develop a degree of maturity and responsibility, and adjust to community life, unless it was just the fact that the members were older.

The members of the successful group, for whatever it is worth, were in Letchworth for longer periods, and were older when discharged. The average ages at the time of admission and at the time of discharge were, for the successful group, 15.8 and 25 years, and for the unsuccessful group, 14.7 and 20.6 years. Whether this represents any more than an arithmetical accident is not clear.

The two groups included nine patients who escaped from the institution and whose whereabouts were unknown at the time of discharge. Six of them had justified their action by making good adjustments; three had not. This number of escapes while too small to draw any general conclusion, does suggest that a certain number had made good the hard way, and that perhaps the school should have anticipated their needs earlier.

Eleven patients of the whole group said they owned and drove cars. This is a small number, and there is some possibility that the actual number may be larger. Many former patients, however, believe that records of institutional residence handicap them in their applications for drivers' licenses, and govern themselves accordingly. The 11 drivers that were known were of the comparatively higher mentalities, with an average IQ of 69 (ranging from 51 to 91).

Seven men of the series had had army service. Two of them had been discharged before the expirations of their enlistments, one for a physical condition. The others served out their terms and were discharged under honorable conditions. One was killed in action. Their IQ's ranged from 54 to 80, with the group averaging 68.

It was thought that there might be some value to the institution in knowing how the patient or the family felt about the period of institutional life. Comments on the subject were for the most part expressed in general terms; and it did not appear that the majority had given any particular thought to grievances. A few of the women (but more of them than of the men) were inclined to be critical of their time in the institution, to be suspicious of the interviewer, and to interpret the interview as a possible threat.

Remarks made by two women, "I made a mistake, but I served my punishment," seemed to express this attitude. The men were on the whole less inclined to resentment, and discussed their affairs more openly. Critical comments, when made, were mostly that (a) they had not been given enough schooling or training, or (b) that they had been kept in the institution longer than necessary.

This same difference in attitudes seems to show up through the years in the not uncommon visits of former patients to the institution. Nearly always, these have been men who have dropped in to look up a former teacher or cottage matron and to tell how they were getting along. This type of contact, as mentioned previously, limits the visitors to those who have made good and want to tell about it. The others, for the various reasons mentioned, do not visit; but it is rare in any case for a woman to return for a visit.

Some of the comments made by former patients, while reflecting good will, were not necessarily pertinent. One woman had been on relief between irregular jobs and a jail term, and had accumulated six illegitimate children by various men. She felt that her training at Letchworth had helped her to get along with people.

In conclusion, two brief sketches are given to illustrate types of patients who made good following circumstances that made one wonder, at the time, if they had any such capacity.

#### *Case No. 10201*

This boy was admitted in 1941 at the age of 11. His IQ was 68. He was a well-behaved boy but did not appear to live up to his rated intelligence. After study, and a short period in the institution, he was placed in the community under the family care program. He got along poorly here in any type of home situation and did poorly in school. He was enuretic, a condition that persisted up to the time of his discharge. Several changes in boarding homes were made, without any material benefit. Later he was placed in employment with a veterinarian. Here he displayed some liking for animals and ability to handle them, but as a worker he showed a singular inadequacy, and the employer found it easier to do much of the unskilled work himself. He kept the boy on, however, because he was willing, and was good with the animals.



His enuresis persisted, and the employer's wife wondered how long she could continue to put up with this situation in her home.

Following the boy's discharge, he went into the army, and, when seen recently, had had war service in Korea and had completed a high school equivalency course in the army. He is married, has one child, and has a job in the animal department of a large drug firm, making \$75 a week. He owns and drives a car and has saved money. The most noteworthy feature is his appearance of maturity and poise, and his general adult attitude toward life and responsibility, all characteristics that he had lacked before. Perhaps the Letchworth Village program did something for him. Perhaps the army did it. Or, perhaps he was just late in growing up.

*Case No. 4333*

Patient 4333 was a colored boy, IQ 59, admitted at the age of 15, the product of a broken home, unable to progress in school and in difficulties in the community. At Letchworth, in the beginning, he was difficult to manage and had to be removed from his first work assignments. He was considered to be a leader, but a bully and a trouble-maker, and on one occasion, to be engaged in homosexual practices. Then for some reason he settled down and presented no further problem.

He was returned to the community, and a job was found for him by the school's social service department. He is now discharged, is working in the same place, and is making \$63 a week. He works for a bus company, and cleans engines and bus bodies with a steam hose. He belongs to the union, likes his job and saves his money. He is single, boards with a family and pays his bills. He goes to New York City on his time off, and the general conduct of his life is such that no person or agency has had to be concerned about him.

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## SOME SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF LEARNING THEORY: A REVIEW AND COMMENT

BY DANIEL MILLER

The impression that conditioning theory has made upon American psychology has been so favorable that it has pushed its way into a dominant position at the present time. This position is very confusing, when the source of conditioning theory, stemming as it does from what is now Communist society, is considered. How could American and Communist, politically opposed, socially incompatible societies, become psychological bedfellows? Can we gleefully charge behaviorists with being Communists by association through theory? We don't think so, but what was so attractive about Pavlovian Theory to the American students of learning?

The most obvious thing about it was that it offered an empirical method of studying behavior and thereby held out the possibility of placing psychology on a par with the premium science of physics: The extreme determinism which characterized the spirit of nineteenth century science emphasized the need here. The method that psychology required had to be comparatively objective, not too concerned with emotions—such as the Freudian emotions, which no one really saw—and had to offer an arguable point of view. It is impossible for a scientist to convince anyone else that he is correct in his viewpoint if he can't point to a single empirical fact to confirm it. Once he can point to an empirical fact, he has authority in his subject.

There were probably many other aspects in the contemporary scene which should not be overlooked, and which made psychology look to a model for its methodical madness. There may have been a more directly practical, didactic aspect to this demand for an empirically provable learning theory. Dewey had put the three R's under fire with his concept of motivation affecting the learning process. The teacher who ran the classroom no longer had the last word but had to find the children's motivation. Progressive education loosened the classroom situation so that control over children through a rigorous implementation of the three R's was no longer respectable. In progressive education the children's own state of mind had to be attended to; they could even help decide what they would do during the school day.

The misapplication of progressive education led to chaotic classrooms, with the best of intentions misunderstood and misused. This had to be corrected through better control of the situation, and motivation holds a place of honor among all masters of control. The liberal progressive viewpoint that looked for children's motivation unfortunately came into the hands of persons, not with genuine interest in motivation for the sake of understanding children, but for the sake of manipulation and control of the environment. Motivation can serve such a purpose that the organism doing the learning has initiative taken away from him, because it is now used by the environment for its own motives. This attitude is very clear in behaviorism, which operates on the explicit assumption that the stimulus to learning is in the environment and not in the subject. The environment as the focus provides complete control of the children doing the learning.

Pavlov's original studies on conditioning were done without any implication of motivations or rewards. He was interested mostly in the neurological ramifications of his animals' reactions. It was research that was pure and thoroughly divorced from concern with more mundane matters. The idea of investigating the relationship of food as a reinforcer, instead of merely as a stimulus to salivation was the contribution of American psychology. There are drives, there are stimuli to these drives, and there are reinforcers that lead an organism to repeat his performance for the sake of drive reduction. Now, one can teach an organism that runs through the maze like a good rat. What is basically necessary is the active use of the peripheral nervous system, where motor behavior is the only important criterion of learning. As a means of controlling what will be done and what will be avoided, the rat provided one of the best objects of experimentation, because of its high activity rate, its intrinsic lack of negativism or personal involvement with the experimenters (though not vice versa), and its fundamentally simple variations in behavior. Once it is demanded by common sense that the central nervous system be admitted to the learning process, it becomes necessary to postulate the active and complicating presence of conceptual processes.

The automatically functioning mechanical model which was produced early in behaviorism follows from a conception of the organism which demands, and perhaps even enjoys, the certainty of

conformity. Using the basic, timeworn and simple idea of reward and punishment, the organism isn't expected to think, it is only expected to do; and in America, it is frequently proudly stated that we are a nation of doers (and what we do is generally the same as what everyone else does).

Of course, Americans cannot thrive on a one-party system, and as long as there are Democrats there will always be Republicans. Without the other, neither would have any political significance, and without the other, no matter which was dominant, we would have a totalitarian state. Behaviorism thus was bound to be opposed by a reasonable nemesis, and cognitive theory graciously appeared upon the scene after having been gestated in the inexperienced womb of *Gestalt*.

Cognitive theory in general proposes to return the motivating stimulus to the organism. In doing so, it also returns to it the power to use initiative, make comparisons and form judgments on the basis of observed similarities and differences between objects. Ultimately, it gives the lowly mechanized rat the power of scientific reasoning. Liberalism truly frees the mind of its fetters.

In being allowed to conceptualize its environment, the organism develops some understanding of its character and may select responses according to its own needs, instead of induced and reduced needs. The difference in what is expected of the organism, initiative or conformity, variability or stereotypy, concept formation or repetitiously-driven performance, becomes manifest in the way that each theory explains the ongoing character of behavior. For instance, in behavior theory, a gradient of generalization arises from a single stimulus sufficiently reinforced to overcome inhibiting tendencies. It operates along a continuum to provide goal-directed behavior in similar situations. In other words, resistance or a negative attitude can be overcome by giving the organism things that it likes, and it will behave in the way you want in other similar situations. (Viz: a child will usually go to the store for a coin.) However, in cognitive theory, there is a presolution period, during which the organism formulates hypotheses about its environment. It determines the correct response by comparing stimuli selectively during training. It can then transpose this hypothesis into a new key when new stimuli are presented, because its learning is relationally determined. This is the extreme of a



scientific anthropomorphism, as long as the supposed object of investigation is the rat.

#### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

In their present stages of development, neither reinforcement nor cognitive theory is prepared to meet the demands of practical application in life. In their present forms, both are extremes of conservative and progressive viewpoints. Their conflict is also the conflict in educational circles between dominance of the traditional and that of the Dewey method. If applied inflexibly, the reinforcement theories would make mental defectives of all children, while the cognitive theories would require all to be scientists. The only saving grace is that there are some of each.

The awful truth may have to be faced that there may not be one best method for everyone, not even for the mistreated rats. There are sufficiently strong differences in intellectual capacity, psychological predispositions, and emotional needs to make it imperative that a knowledge of individual differences be used to determine what kind of learning is best. This is not impractical, because, in large populations, individual differences recur in sufficiently large numbers for broad communities or groups to develop.

To be correlated with normal development, learning has to be viewed as a changing process of growth and development in accordance with the demands of the organism's own characteristics. Motivations may differ, just as individual personalities differ. In placing the motivational focus in the environment, learning becomes a psychological problem which empirical psychology has become unfit to deal with. It may be a stereotyped learning procedure built into the educational system of the family as well as the school that constitutes much of the puzzling cause of mental illness.

Behaviorism fits in with an essential demand for conformity in the social make-up of American society. The method, experimentally, is to minimize the significance of conceptual activity in preference to a conforming motor performance, ultimately serving the demands of industrial necessity. (Reinforcement turns the tables and boomerangs on the psychologists who become reinforced by industry.) Faithful routinized employees are beneficial to their employers, but let us not delude ourselves into thinking that this accomplishment is going to produce healthy and ful-



filled citizens. The conclusion should be obvious that clinical psychology must be seriously concerned over the implications of contemporary learning theory, and should help to attempt to develop a less monolithic concept, with the humanistic purpose of preventing emotional disorder.

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## THE PROBLEM OF COMMUNITY PRESSURE AND THE MENTAL HYGIENE CLINIC

BY JOHN S. VISHER, M.D.

The Berkeley (Calif.) State Mental Hygiene Clinic is one of many community clinics established with the aid of federal Mental Health Act funds, in response to a demand for psychiatric services created in part by a tremendous growth in public awareness of mental hygiene and psychiatry during World War II. To be described in detail are (1) the nature of community pressure, (2) its effect upon the functioning of a clinic, especially as it concerns determination of policy, (3) the means by which a policy decision to expand diagnostic and dispositional services can be implemented, and (4) the results of such a change in orientation, using as an example the experience of the Berkeley State Mental Hygiene Clinic. Only the adult portion of the total problem will be discussed, as psychiatric services for children present totally different kinds of community pressures and solutions for them.

The community mental hygiene clinic which is the subject of this paper was established in August 1948, in Berkeley, Calif., to provide psychiatric diagnosis and therapy for adults and children who are unable to obtain psychiatric services on a private basis. It is one of a number of state out-patient clinics and is administered by the Department of Mental Hygiene, State of California. At first, the staff consisted of two, and later the equivalent of three full-time psychiatrists, three social workers, and a clinical psychologist. About half of the staff time is spent with adults and half with children. Second- and third-year psychiatric residents from various psychiatric training centers in the San Francisco Bay area are assigned to the clinic on rotation for six-month to one-year periods; and candidates for the Ph.D. degree in psychology and the M.S.W. (master of social work) degree from the University of California at Berkeley come to the clinic for nine months of part-time clinical experience. In its training function, the clinic differs somewhat from the majority of community mental hygiene clinics.

### THE PROBLEM

Community mental hygiene clinics of an equivalent size to this one are generally considered adequate to meet the psychiatric

needs of approximately 100,000 to 150,000 people.<sup>1</sup> The Berkeley State Mental Hygiene Clinic serves an area of about 1,500,000 population. A large part of this area has limited social agency resources, and the only other psychiatric clinics available are for the exclusive use of special groups such as veterans, students, or health plan members. Thus, from the day it was opened, the Berkeley clinic has been exposed to intense community pressure.

During the first fiscal year of operation, 1948-49, a total of 517 patients was admitted to the clinic, and about 150 were accepted for therapy. Only one of 20 applicants in the first year could be interviewed. Students and faculty of the University of California made up 20 per cent of the applicants. The intake even had to be closed for half of the first year, because psychotherapists were not available. An average of 10 calls a day was received from persons requesting services. Many of these persons had been waiting for long periods for the clinic to open. Most of the initial applicants seemed to need relatively intensive, long-term therapy, and staff time was increasingly devoted to patients who were seen weekly for treatment of relatively long duration. (See the table.<sup>2</sup>)

Statistical Evaluation of Selected Clinic Functions, Berkeley State Mental Hygiene Clinic, 1949-1955

Fiscal Year	Staff Members (a)	Total Pts. Served per Staff Member (b)	Treated and Discharged Pts. per Staff Member	Average Duration of Treatment (c)	Percentage of Children in Total Clinic Caseload (d)
49-50*	(9)	(73.0)	(18.0)	23.6	10.9
50-51	7.4	69.6	24.5	33.0	18.6
51-52	11.6	51.9	13.9	36.2	22.0
52-53	10.4	62.0	16.0	36.6	26.2
53-54	6.9	82.0	22.8	39.4	23.8
Adult Service Reorganization					
54-55	6.6	121.0	29.7	24.0	24.4

(a) Staff includes paid professional personnel and psychiatric residents, but not social work or psychology trainees.

(b) Includes patients on record at the beginning of the fiscal year and all patients admitted during the year.

(c) Actual therapeutic interviews in hours.

(d) No change in character of treatment or diagnostic services for children, 1951-52 to 1955-56.

\*Exact statistics for 1949-50 unavailable but estimated.

Some estimate of the degree of pressure upon the clinic, as compared with its ability to respond, may be gained from an analysis of the number of phone calls during one month, March 1954, when a record was kept. There was a total of 357 calls from individuals requesting help with some problem. Two hundred of these represented appeals from persons who seemed to be in need of the services of the clinic and suitable for at least a diagnostic interview to examine means of obtaining assistance. The remainder were from individuals who were requesting information or were considered clearly unsuitable for clinic service, such as acutely psychotic patients in need of hospitalization. Some of these might have benefited from an interview to facilitate referral to the proper resource or to clarify the problem. Of the 200 prospective patients judged suitable, staff time was available to interview only 33, even though patients were needed for psychotherapy with prospective psychiatric residents.

As previously mentioned, a necessary expedient of closing the intake except for very limited periods during the year was adopted early in the history of the clinic as one means of controlling the pressure from the community, so that new patients were accepted only during brief periods on a few specified dates during the year, at times when new patients for therapy and/or training were needed. Prospective patients who called at times when the intake was closed would be asked to call back on a specific date when it was anticipated that further therapy hours might be available. Should vacancies not be available, another date in the future would be mentioned.

The "call back system," as this method of closing the intake came to be called, had a number of disadvantageous and detrimental effects. It served to insulate the staff from learning of the needs of individuals seeking psychiatric assistance, while the needs of patients already admitted and coming regularly for therapeutic interviews seemed paramount.

Another effect of the "system" was an inadvertent selection, from among the applicants for therapy, of those who had been able to persevere throughout the long period of application, while the patients with more acute problems were often unable to wait and would attempt other, often inadequate, solutions. In other cases, difficulties would become chronic as individuals helplessly waited, in anticipation that their problems would be solved by

someone at the clinic. As a result, the therapy caseload was heavily weighted with long-term, chronic patients who were dependent and masochistic, with tendencies to use compulsive and intellectual defenses. Many of these patients might often be no longer strongly motivated for therapy, but would cling tenaciously to it as a hard-earned right. Much of the therapy was in the hands of inexperienced trainees and residents with limited tenure at the clinic who were often unable to cope adequately with such difficult patients. In addition, transfers would be recommended to other therapists at the end of their training periods.

An emergency service was available, but because the intake was frequently closed, this service tended to be used for other purposes, including diagnostic evaluations. As a result, it would often not be possible to see an emergency patient immediately, and when he was not able to wait he would have to go directly to a hospital or find some other solution to his difficulties.

Working under such pressure was also detrimental to the morale of the clinic staff. One result was that individual patients would often be accepted for therapy, at least partly because of staff guilt, even though another therapy patient might add considerably to the pressures upon the individual therapist.

The disappointment of the community served by the Berkeley State Mental Hygiene Clinic was probably typical of communities with new mental hygiene clinics, since only a fraction of the patients needing therapeutic help could be admitted, and since insufficient time was available for the diagnostic, dispositional and consultative psychiatric services which had also been anticipated by the community.

It is important to emphasize at this point that the difficulties described are typical of community mental hygiene clinics where an attempt is made to meet the special needs of patients requiring more intensive treatment in the face of an intense demand for a wider variety of psychiatric services, including diagnosis, disposition, consultation and "briefer" therapy. The defensive measures described, or similar methods, are inevitable if staff time is to be available for the primary goal of treatment. Like all defenses, however, these measures sometimes prove inadequate and uneconomical, and "therapy" is needed to encourage the "patient" to confront again his original problems and to attempt to evolve more suitable solutions for them.



## METHOD OF SOLUTION

The problem was tackled in a series of staff conferences in the summer of 1954, at which time there was discussion of the fundamental orientation of the clinic. As the staff systematically analyzed its functions and the needs of the community, it became apparent that the community's need for diagnostic and dispositional psychiatric services outweighed, at least at the moment, its needs for treatment services. Although far more psychiatrists were in private practice than in 1948 when the clinic was opened, and although there had been some development of social agencies, school guidance departments, and so on, in the interim, there were still large areas of the population which had no other psychiatric or social agency resource available than the clinic. In contrast, a few patients could be considered highly sophisticated psychologically. Although there was an intense need for a facility to concentrate upon treatment, particularly for the latter group, the staff decided that a clinic in this specific community needed to offer a wider variety of psychiatric services, even if this meant that long-term therapy would have to be de-emphasized.

Consequently, a series of propositions was formulated, the effect of which was to change the policy of the clinic away from long-term individual therapy and toward broader psychiatric services, including diagnosis, disposition, and briefer methods of therapy, in the belief that the latter functions would be more useful to the community at its current stage of psychiatric development. These propositions were:

1. The clinic should be continuously available to the community it served, so that intake would stay open to at least a percentage of those who called.
2. Diagnostic, dispositional and consultative services should be more readily available to the social agencies, schools, physicians, and other sources of referral.
3. Emergency services should be available within 24 to 48 hours of initial application to the clinic.
4. In order to maintain the training program, there should be about 250 intake interviews during the year, to provide suitable patients for individual therapy, and to develop the group therapy program.
5. The constant pressure upon the staff and its guilt about its inevitable failure to meet all the demands made upon it should

be relieved by the provision of adequate time for administrative and recording work, and for other necessary functions.

6. The use of staff time in long-term individual therapy should be considered secondary to other clinic services.

A first step in the implementation of these propositions was the careful analysis of the functions of each staff member, with an examination of his schedule, hour by hour, to determine the cost of each function in terms of time expended. Estimates based on statistical data and previous experience with community pressure were made, and a system of comprehensive scheduling of staff time for specific functions was adopted.

Using the existing intake procedures, the new "open intake" policy was implemented with a plan to funnel all applications through the intake social worker, who then offered appointments to the patients who seemed most suitable for one or another of the available services. To avoid the development of a backlog of applicants for whom appointments were not available within a few weeks, it was decided that when such persons telephoned, they would be told that there was little or no possibility that they could be seen at the clinic. Recommendations as to alternative resources were to be given at the time of the phone call.

The supervising social worker arranged her schedule so that she would be continuously available to social agencies, and have responsibility for all communication with them. She might request an applicant to give further information in writing before deciding whether to accept a referral for diagnostic evaluation or consideration for therapy. In addition, she interviewed all former patients who were re-applying for clinic services; and a careful exploration of motivation and ability to use further treatment in the light of what the clinic might have to offer was undertaken in each case.

To meet the need for psychiatric diagnosis and disposition of non-emergent new patients, it was decided to offer four combined intake and diagnostic evaluation appointments with a staff psychiatrist each week. Such cases would include patients especially referred for psychiatric diagnosis by outside social agencies, patients referred with primarily somatic symptomatology, or patients with some other problem particularly susceptible to evaluation from a psychiatric point of view. The psychiatrist himself was trained to perform the usual intake tasks of obtaining regis-

tration information and setting fees, thus avoiding the duplication of effort involved in an intake interview by a social worker.

It was estimated that about two appointments for each emergency patient would be needed; and two hours of psychiatric time plus two hours of social work time were allotted for this purpose alone, with an attempt to limit the use of this service to genuine emergencies. Relatives of such patients were customarily interviewed in conjunction with a patient's application.

To provide individual therapy patients for the training and group therapy programs, time was set aside for five individual application interviews each week with the adult service intake social worker.

Thus, arrangements were made to admit 11 new patients from several categories each week. Each staff person concerned provided time for these appointments on his schedule, as well as for further interviews if necessary, and for the necessary administrative functions involved. Time was set aside for conferences with referring agencies and for preparation of reports and dictation. Telephone calls accounted for 10 hours a week of the social worker's time, scheduled at specific times each day. With the increased emphasis on diagnostic and dispositional services, it was necessary to realize that these services were much more consuming of staff time than a full caseload of therapy patients. It was estimated that each new patient admitted to the clinic required a minimum of two and one-half to three hours of staff time, exclusive of the actual interviews with the patient.

As had been the case previously, an intake conference considered the application of each new patient interviewed, and decisions were jointly made regarding the disposition or assignment of each case among a number of alternatives: (1) individual therapy with staff or trainees; (2) group therapy; (3) brief therapy; (4) referral to a private psychiatrist or another agency; and (5) rejection of application.

Since a greater number of new patients was being admitted to the clinic than previously, it was necessary to develop more efficient and effective ways of dealing with their problems.

Individual therapy continued to be utilized for patients who seemed especially suitable for once-weekly interviews over a six-to-12-month period with relatively inexperienced therapists.

The new flexibility in staff schedules made possible the development of a brief therapy program, utilizing experienced staff therapists for certain patients whose problems seemed susceptible to these techniques. Criteria for selection were formulated, and technical consultation was offered to the therapists.<sup>3</sup>

Group therapy, which had previously been used experimentally at the clinic, proved to be a helpful addition to the therapeutic armamentarium. In many instances, it seemed to be the therapy of choice for just those patients whose resistances made them unsuitable for individual therapy of limited duration.<sup>4</sup> The program was gradually expanded until approximately two-thirds of all the adults assigned for therapy were receiving group therapy.

The intake conference made liberal use of opportunities to refer patients either to private psychiatrists or to other social agencies in the community, when a patient's problems seemed to indicate a casework or therapeutic approach which was not so readily available at the clinic. Certain patients also were considered unready for any form of help or guidance, and it was necessary to reject their applications outright.

### RESULTS

A surprising result of the reorganization of intake methods and procedures and of the shift in orientation of the clinic was that it has proved possible, at least for the present, to interview almost every patient who asks for help and who seems suitable for any one of the psychiatric services offered. The number of telephone applications decreased as the backlog of patients waiting for initial appointments was eliminated.

During the first year that the new program was in operation (1954-55), 121.0 adults and children per staff member were served at the clinic, as contrasted with 62.0 patients per staff member in 1952-53. The number of patients per staff member who were discharged after receiving therapy, including group therapy, was 29.7 during the first year of the new program, as compared with 16.0 in 1952-53; but the average duration of treatment was reduced from 36.6 hours per patient in 1952-53 to 24.0 hours under the new program. Thus, under the 1954-55 program, more patients received diagnostic and consultative services and more abbreviated therapy than in previous years, when staff time was devoted primarily to long-term treatment services. (See the table.)



The statistics which show an increased number of patients per staff member, discharged after receiving therapy, show an increase during the two fiscal years before 1954-55 which is attributed to an increasing use of group therapy during that period. During the year preceding the new program, a number of patients were admitted because they seemed suitable for the group therapy program, but they were not considered for other forms of therapy, because therapists were not available. This year was an atypical one, because the staff was drastically reduced by a cut in federal Mental Health Act funds. The years 1950-51 and 1951-52 are more typical of the clinic's operation when individual long-term treatment was the principal activity of the staff. Each staff member served an average of 60 patients during each of those years, 19 of whom received therapy averaging 34.6 hours per treated case.<sup>2</sup>

There was a marked increase in the number of patients who were seen on referral from agencies and whose cases were later discussed in conferences with personnel from the referring agencies.

It is difficult to judge the effectiveness of therapy since the percentage of patients considered to be improved tends to remain about constant in any setting and with any method. However, the staff subjectively believed that the hours spent in therapy with patients were more effective in 1954-55, as the patient's problems were more acute, because of decreased waiting periods before therapy, and because patients were more carefully selected for suitability for individual therapy.

Another important result of the new program was that the attitude of the community toward the clinic began to undergo a marked change, as agencies realized that psychiatric consultation at least, and, in some cases, psychotherapy, were available to their clients on application. The agencies were able to assume casework responsibility for some difficult clients, because of the reassurance provided by the opportunity to discuss the problem with the psychiatrist and the clinic staff. The existence of a genuine emergency service was also good public relations. Unnecessary referrals to the clinic were avoided by the practice of screening referrals through the supervising social worker, who was often able to give practical assistance at the time of the initial phone call.



## DISCUSSION

It may be objected that, under the reorganization, staff schedules and clinic policies might become dangerously rigid. Attempts to guard against this possibility included arranging each staff member's schedule so that it contained allotments of time which could be used for a variety of purposes at the discretion of the worker. The total program itself could be revised as it became necessary to provide for a new activity or interest, but it was clearly understood that this would necessarily mean subtraction of time from some other area of activity. The constant pressure to "see one more patient" or to "do just a little more" was thereby eliminated in large measure; and, with this came a greater ease in working and a sense of satisfaction in the work that was accomplished, rather than a constant feeling of frustration and dissatisfaction with qualitative as well as quantitative achievement. In arranging staff programs, certain concessions were made to staff development and in-service training, as well as to personal satisfaction and interest.

The basis of a complex and integrated clinic program is the intake decision, since it is necessary to choose between a number of alternatives with relatively little information available. The intake conference group has developed considerable confidence in its ability to determine disposition, using material from the intake interviews and available information from other sources. An important factor is an increasing degree of certainty about what the clinic can offer, both in terms of its advantages and limitations, while the continuing experience with patients serves as a check upon the correctness of each decision. Psychological testing and further interviews with the patients or family are always possible where the issues remain in doubt after one or two initial interviews.

It may be questioned whether a community mental hygiene clinic is using its professional staff most economically when psychiatrists perform the functions of social workers, rather than the work for which their special training prepares them. Ideally, social agencies should be developed in order to meet the needs of the community for casework services, and the operation of a psychiatric clinic in this area might be said to retard proper social agency development by reducing the pressure for casework services. On the other hand, where the needs are present and no more

appropriate agency exists, there is a natural tendency to try to help, rather than to reject, patients who need services which are otherwise totally unavailable to them. Perhaps such service contributes to public awareness of the needs, and indirectly encourages the establishment of more mental hygiene facilities of all kinds.

All clinics face situations of intense community pressure. Each clinic must choose whether it will emphasize treatment, or emphasize diagnostic and dispositional services; and this decision must be realistically based upon the current needs of the community it serves. Too often, however, the situation is not clearly faced in this manner, and the staff is influenced by its own prejudices for or against long-term treatment, and especially by its fears of being overwhelmed by demands for service if the clinic is made too readily available to those who need its help. The staff protects itself by such means as "closing intake" and by focusing attention upon the relatively few patients who are currently in therapy.

Since consideration of the needs of applicants who cannot be accepted arouses anxiety and guilt in the staff, it may adopt means of postponement and delay, rather than outright rejection. Long waiting lists are developed as a way of proving the validity of the defensive attitude. As far as possible, the applicant is expected to maintain contact with the clinic, and when he fails to do so, he is considered to be "unmotivated." Since many patients do fail to pursue their applications, the staff comes to feel that few of them are "really motivated"—a way of assuaging guilt about those whom it is impossible to see.

The net result of these defensive techniques is to isolate the staff from the community and to make it oblivious as far as is possible to everything but the needs of the patients who are actually in therapy. This is especially true since these patients obviously need help and are using it in some degree, and it is much more economical of staff time and energy to see one patient over a long period rather than many new patients. In this situation, there are no decisions to be made, few reports to be filled out and few letters to be written. And from the standpoint of "the statistics," it is much more impressive to point to 200 interview-hours with patients in therapy, than to 50 new patients who were seen but whose interviews and applications required 200 hours of staff time to process.

All of these factors weigh heavily in favor of emphasizing long-term treatment, and against any change which might be more realistic in terms of the specific community served.

It has been the experience of the staff of the Berkeley State Mental Hygiene Clinic that—just as in individual neurosis—defense can attain pathological proportions in a staff, and result in symptomatic and uneconomic, nonreality-oriented behavior. Again, as in the individual neurosis, “therapy” consists of a recognition of the problem and the conflict, facing their implications squarely, and acquiring a willingness to attempt new solutions. When the diagnosis of the community need is correct and the “therapy” is successful, there is a reduction of guilt and anxiety and an increased morale on the part of the staff, treatment services seem more effective, and increased community approval becomes apparent. The fearful unknown of community pressure is often not so fearful when it is clearly understood, and an active approach to the problems it presents can be formulated.

#### SUMMARY

This paper has presented in detail the operation of a community mental hygiene clinic in a situation of intense community pressure, contrasting and comparing two periods in its operation: (1) a period when the reaction to the community pressure was essentially defensive, and the therapeutic orientation was toward long-term, individual treatment, and (2) a period following a reorganization, with an emphasis on psychiatric diagnosis and disposition, and a focus upon offering briefer treatment to greater numbers of patients. Some of the factors tending to favor a policy of treatment in such a situation, rather than one of offering diagnostic and dispositional services, are discussed; and the influence these factors have upon the ability of the clinic staff to see clearly what is needed by the community is emphasized.

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## SOCIAL SERVICE FUNCTIONS IN A MENTAL HOSPITAL\*

BY THE SOCIAL SERVICE STAFF OF ROCKLAND STATE HOSPITAL

The need for a social service department in the mental hospital is now generally accepted. The writers of this article would like to focus attention on social casework services as these are integrated with the various other hospital disciplines. Although the basic casework principles presented in this paper are not new, the description of the practical application of them within a hospital team framework seems timely.

Perhaps the team approach should first be defined as it is understood by Rockland (N.Y.) State Hospital's social service department. The team approach is, first, a co-operative, integrated method of *thinking* about what needs to be done and why it should be done in the basic effort to help the patient. It is, second, a method of *doing*, based on mutual respect, sharing and determination of the role and contribution the various members of the team can make to a particular patient's welfare at a particular time. At Rockland, the patient's family and community are considered to be active, participating team members, usually voicing themselves through the social worker. Their participation is, perhaps thought of more in the second phase of teamwork, the *doing*, although they are certainly an integral, important part of the first, *thinking* phase.

In the second, or doing phase, the family and community certainly should have the respect of all others involved with the patient. Hospitalization and the team's work with the patient cover—it is to be hoped—only a brief time in his life, and the staff is only of immediate importance to him, while his family and community represent a lifetime of importance. It is necessary, therefore, to respect and *really* accept their important contribution to him and to the team. Likewise, they must be allowed and encouraged to share in the team's drive toward its ultimate goal, the patient's improved health. Perhaps, if they do not get help with their practical situations, attitudes and conditions, which may be as disturbed as the patient himself, all efforts to get the patient well may be futile. They have always had their roles with the patient and will always be making contributions to him, either positive or negative, often depending on how the team uses them

\*From Rockland State Hospital, Orangeburg, N. Y.



and how it helps them to use themselves in direct contact with and for the patient.

How does a person become a patient? For him, going to Bellevue\* may have been a sudden calamity, a crime without warning. How often is heard, "I wasn't doing anything wrong, just minding my own business, when the cops came, or an ambulance arrived, or my family sent me to Bellevue." Likewise, there are so many histories in which the patient, or more probably his family, has put up with a difficult situation for a long time and suddenly decides it can take it no longer. Then, impulsively, or because relatives fear that if they wait they may go back on their decision, the patient goes to Bellevue "suddenly." In these situations, it is easy to see that problems in attitudes and practical life situations must arise. These problems may be of a very practical nature, involving a concrete service in such areas as care of children, property and finances, or they may involve the use of case-work skills for a long time to alleviate anxiety, guilt, anger or fear.

The social workers often find that they can be of use in helping both the patient and his relatives accept his hospitalization. A patient who denies the necessity for institutionalization and blames it all on his family or his community, may be helped to talk about some of the things that are involved and to look at the situation more realistically. The relatives of a patient have a great deal of feeling about having a member of the family in a mental institution. There is usually considerable guilt involved, combined with the feeling that they are responsible for the certification or the illness. There may be hostility toward the patient, who may have caused them considerable difficulty.

On the surface, the relatives may appear to be saying, "The patient did it on purpose." Underneath, there may be tremendous guilt about their conscious or unconscious relief at having him out of the way. Many of these feelings may take the behavioral form of antagonism toward the doctor or hospital, which may undo all that might otherwise be accomplished. For example, a relative's surface antagonism toward hospitalization can keep a patient so stirred up that he himself cannot be helped to relax,

\*Emergency certification from the part of New York City which sends patients to Rockland is frequently by way of Bellevue Psychiatric Hospital, a New York City institution. Patients are sent to Bellevue by the police or the courts for observation, diagnosis and disposition.



to be in the hospital, and above all, to make use of the treatment the hospital would like to extend.

Therefore, initiating social casework with a patient early in hospitalization and working through some of these feelings with him and with his relatives may, in a sense, be a way of preventing him from leaving the hospital without permission or before he is actually well enough to do so. This type of service may take many months to accomplish. During this time, the social workers may be doing a variety of things in the casework interviews; or a change of attitude and outlook may occur in even one or two interviews with an accepting, interested, nonjudgmental worker who can recognize and accept a guilty, fear-ridden patient or relative.

The doctor is usually identified by the patient as an authoritarian figure. While he is the authority concerning the patient's treatment, the patient may interpret this authority in terms of his own personality needs, thereby perhaps making the doctor a controlling or punitive or fear-evoking figure. Because of this identification, the patient may approach the social worker with problems which rightfully belong in the doctor's therapeutic sessions. For example, one doctor told of an incident that occurred when he was still a resident. A patient whom he had worked with in group therapy for a year was unable to communicate directly with him, but, in his presence, requested the participating social worker to tell the doctor whatever she wished to say. One of the social worker's functions, then, may be to help the patient overcome this inability to work directly with the doctor and to provide the bridge between patient and doctor in the meantime.

The social workers at Rockland work with the "what's" and "how's" but not directly with the unconscious "why's" in regard to interpersonal relationships, family life, jobs, recreation or other areas of importance to the patient or his family. Perhaps it would be well to clarify one point here. While all the disciplines are concerned about these areas, they are the focus of attention for the social workers. There is bound to be overlapping of efforts, as there should be in any team that does not want to jealously break up the patient into little islands, rigidly guarded professionally.

Unfortunately, tradition, or possibly the frame of reference that social workers themselves have built up over the years, has linked them with "getting patients out of the hospital." This link-

age is not necessarily present. If the social workers themselves recognize this and help the doctors to see the weakness and fallacy of this tradition, it is doubtful that patients will continue to see social workers merely as a way out of the hospital. The writers recall a patient who said that she thought every patient should have a social worker as soon as the patient came to the hospital. Rockland's social workers do not feel that every patient needs or can use a social worker any more than every family needs or can use one. They feel that the social worker, after careful evaluation, is the one who can best determine if casework service is needed. Just as the doctor determines whether a patient can benefit from psychotherapy, shock therapy or chemotherapy, it is part of the social worker's responsibility to determine if she is professionally able to help a particular patient within the agency structure.

It seems axiomatic that if the patient is to spend the least possible time in the hospital, planning for his release needs to begin early in his hospitalization. Interestingly, at Rockland, much of a social worker's planning with the patient is an outgrowth of other work with him. The doctor may be a little bewildered by the fact that he has referred the patient for anamnestic material, and suddenly finds that the patient and the social worker are talking about what the patient is going to do when he is ready to leave. Life does not stop when a patient is admitted to the hospital, and his return to the community is of primary concern to him. It is harder for him to give up hope, if he feels that someone thinks he will eventually get out of the hospital and is interested in talking with him about it.

Frequently, and for many reasons, the social worker may not get into the patient's situation until later in his hospitalization, perhaps when he is getting better and when plans for his imminent return to the community should be made. At that time, the aim is for him to go into a situation where his chances will be as favorable as possible for maintaining his health gains. First, the social worker wants to be sure he has done everything possible in working with the patient and his family about such situations back home as can be worked through. This may seem to be a simple, manipulative process, such as getting the patient accepted for welfare assistance. Often it is not this simple, because the social worker must start with where the patient is in his own thinking. For example, he may be viewing welfare assistance as charity, as

a helpless admission of defeat, rather than as an interim helping hand.

Many of the unfavorable situations the patient may face when he leaves the hospital cannot be resolved. The staff must weigh whether the patient is prepared to face them as he is recovering. What are his strengths, weaknesses, problems and needs? Preferably, the whole team is involved in this evaluation, the final decision being the responsibility of the doctor. With the doctor's help, the social workers can help the family and community understand the patient and his illness, so that when he is ready to leave the hospital, they will be better able to help.

It should be understood that the social workers do not convey all the underlying dynamics to the family and the community; but, for the social workers to know with what they are working and what the interaction may be, they themselves must know the dynamics of the patient's illness. The social worker may have considerable material about the patient's attitudes and desires concerning his family and home, as well as realistic information about what is back home. The psychiatrist must decide if what the team sees as the total patient at the hospital has a reasonable chance for adjustment in the community situation the social worker has worked out. This weighing process is certainly not the final step, but is a constantly on-going process. Many suggestions are needed from the entire team on ways to make this hospitalized patient real to his community.

In the search for situations that will insure the patient's adjustment when he leaves the hospital, all involved in the case may decide that some situations are impossible for the patient to handle if he returns to them, or, sometimes, there may be no situations to which the patient can return. At such times, the social worker may assume responsibility for working out an alternative plan with a community agency. As with teamwork, placement is also a dynamic, on-going process. While many of the things done in arranging placement are done regardless of the reasons for entering the case, these should be spelled out a bit more definitively in respect to placement because it is so very important and frequently so difficult a process. In addition to outside resources, a worker may make use of any member of the hospital personnel who has knowledge of the patient. The aim is to help the patient plan what is right for him, taking into consideration the strengths

as well as the limitations present in the patient himself, the family, the hospital and the community. In assuming the responsibility for placement, the social worker needs a thorough evaluation of the patient's total current functioning. This is of the utmost importance in referring the patient to a community social agency. The agency probably has not seen him when it is asked to arrange help for him after his release from the hospital. Social workers are sometimes irritated when agencies constantly demand more and more information about the patient, by letter, by telephone, and from the social worker directly. It must be kept in mind that they are trying to understand a whole person from the information given by the hospital without actually seeing the patient. Record material is valuable, but it is not sufficient alone, because it can be obsolete; and, in fairness to the patient and to the receiving agency, it should be possible to describe the patient as he is currently. After the reading of the record and the conference with the doctor, the social worker sees the patient and as many other people in the patient's building as he can.

Attendants, teachers, psychologists, occupational therapists are all valuable resources in getting a good, all-around picture of the patient's personality, how he behaves in different situations and how he relates to authority figures, to other patients or to therapists. All this material is valuable to the receiving agency in determining whether the patient can fit into its program. While the patient must participate in planning, it often takes months before he can really take any responsibility in knowing what he would like. This is natural, partly because months are often spent trying to find something that is valuable for him to consider. Most agencies want the patient to see the place where he may be living and to make up his own mind whether he would be comfortable there. Arranging such visits, particularly from a suburban hospital like Rockland, is time-consuming and may seem unreasonable when so much information and interpretation has already been given the agency. However, if this is reasoned out beyond the immediate pressures involved, it can be seen that taking a patient for such a visit is really a way of again saying to him, "This is your decision; everything has been made available to you so that you will have a well-considered and comfortable start back in your community."



In summary, the social worker at Rockland sees herself as the team member who is the voice of the patient's family, his community, and his relationship to his family and community. In all cases, she recognizes her very serious responsibility, first to evaluate and decide with the help of the team what is needed, and, second, to rely on her own professional competence to determine how and why to meet this need. She may be needed in working through the very real problems that arise when hospitalization takes place. These may be practical difficulties or emotional problems, the solution of which may be a key factor in making the patient accessible to treatment and in making his family a constructive element in it. The worker may represent to the patient and his family the probability that hospitalization is only a short period in his total life span and that there is both hope for, and need to look to, the future. She is constantly aware of the fact that planning for the future is a continuous process, hopefully starting early in hospitalization and frequently growing out of a simple, concrete request for her service. She recognizes that in this planning, she cannot always work things out herself, and that she may, instead, be the one who is competent to seek the community's help in the placement process. In doing this, she really accepts the contributions of others and makes it possible for them to contribute, by sharing with them the team's evaluation of the patient, his strengths and weaknesses. Likewise, she accepts the fact that plans for the future are really the patient's plans, and makes his participation in planning as extensive as possible, depending upon his capacity to participate.

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## PSYCHIATRIC ASPECTS OF GROUP COUNSELING WITH ADOLESCENTS\*

BY WILFRED C. HULSE, M.D.

### INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Group counseling has been used at a rapidly increasing rate by many family and children's agencies during the last few years as a "minor" psychotherapy for the readjustment of disturbed attitudes and relationships in adults, adolescents and children. It modifies techniques derived from counseling on one hand, and from group psychotherapy on the other, and has come to be accepted as a procedure in its own right.

It appears advisable, to redefine on the basis of new experiences, the demarcation lines between group psychotherapy and group counseling, and to recognize that many projects designated as group psychotherapy are not employing the complete therapeutic armamentarium necessary to achieve character changes and are actually functioning as counseling, rather than therapeutic, groups.

There are many aspects of the psychodynamics, of therapeutic techniques and of organizational efficiency in the application of group methods to the treatment of emotional ills which are—*ceteris paribus*—equally pertinent in the psychotherapies as applied to adults, adolescents and children. However, in many years of direct and supervisory work with therapeutic group methods in hospital clinics, family and children's agencies and in private practice, the writer has found that adolescent treatment groups are especially useful and usable for the demonstration of different approaches with therapeutic groups.

The evaluation of therapeutic methods was guided largely by a definition recently formulated by the Committee on Psychotherapy in Orthopsychiatric Settings of the American Orthopsychiatric Association, which states that "there are a variety of psychotherapies for the treatment of emotional disturbances having internal and external components. We have defined the

\*This paper was read at the fifteenth annual meeting of the American Group Psychotherapy Association, Henry Hudson Hotel, New York, January 1958.

The collaboration of Mrs. Lisl Schwartz, M. S., formerly of Sheltering Arms Children's Service, New York City, in the preparation of the section on methodology of group counseling, is gratefully acknowledged.

psychotherapies as certain psychological methods based on a theory of personality structure and geared toward the treatment of emotional disturbance in which each step of the therapeutic process is open to scientific critical analysis."<sup>1</sup> This definition seems to be applicable to group as well as individual psychotherapeutic methods.

#### METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF GROUP COUNSELING

Counseling groups are to be differentiated clearly from therapy groups. Group counseling is a method of treatment for disturbed individuals whose problems are based on situational and realistic conflicts.<sup>2</sup> The method deals largely with conscious and preconscious levels. Ego-supportive treatment techniques are used by preference, rather than an intensive psychoanalytic approach to deep-seated id and super-ego conflicts. Certain elements characteristic of all therapeutic groups, namely, identification, mutual support, facilitation of catharsis, clarification, reality testing, super-ego relaxation, and group integration, stimulate ego growth and permit individual maturation and social expansion. Group counseling is successful in many cases where tensions, conflicts, and distortions are mounting and are threatening the stability of the individual while he remains "accessible to working through channels of ego clarification of attitudes, feelings and reactions." Group counseling deals primarily with feelings and attitudes which are readily accessible to the group member; these are examined and clarified on a reality-oriented basis.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, individuals with diagnosed serious psychopathology should, as a rule, not be admitted to group counseling but should be referred to individual or group psychotherapy. The differentiation of group education, group counseling and group psychotherapy has been formulated previously by the writer, who considers that group education and group counseling are both focused on *specific* problems (adolescence, marital relationship, child rearing, and so on) but that they have essentially different methods and goals. Group education attempts to *prevent* serious disturbance; group counseling has as its goal the modification of disturbed attitudes and relationships. Group psychotherapy aims to cure or improve the emotional illnesses of group members; it deals specifically with the individual psychopathology that is at the root of conflicts and problems.<sup>4</sup>

The process of identification plays an important part in the therapeutic use of group counseling.\* Group members are selected who are able to find from the beginning some identification with the other individuals, with the group as a whole and with the counselor. Initially identification develops in such areas as age and home setting. Adolescent group members are invariably pleased to find out that two of their birthdays are only a few days apart; they compare the sections of the city in which they live or the time and way they have to travel to and from the group meetings. This leads early to the formation of a new group community. Common interests, ambitions and daily experiences are used to broaden communal feelings. Personal factors, for instance that the group counselor is a young married woman and has a baby, are allowed to come out and offer an opportunity to identify with a new parent figure who has neither the rigidity which many of the members experience in their homes—nor is the counselor sexually or otherwise delinquent as are many of the parents of these adolescents.

As group integration progresses, the members find increasingly meaningful areas in common—such as the traumatic experience that some of them have lost their homes repeatedly, while others feel threatened with losing their life-long homes when they become 18 years old. Many find out for the first time that others, too, have been hiding the fact of illegitimate births out of shame, guilt, and fear of social ostracism—feelings which are frequently reinforced by social pressure. The “not alone” feeling spreads to other areas where the individual previously was isolated and felt ill-fated and weak. For an example, when one member, a very frightened youngster, experienced the ability of others to speak freely in the group, she began to participate more actively, both in the group and at home, and was able to present increasingly well-organized criticism after several group meetings.

Explanations and clarifications are used extensively in the counseling group, rather than interpretations, which are applied only in exceptional situations. Clarification means correcting misapprehensions and helping the group members to integrate fractions of knowledge into a new, less anxiety-threatened reality. Explanation brings various near-conscious and conscious feelings and at-

\*Illustrations are largely drawn from a counseling group composed of adolescent girls in foster care, described in detail in Reference 2.

titudes to the full awareness of the group members, so that, implicitly or explicitly, greater closeness to reality is promoted. Interpretation (in the writer's definition) is the therapeutic tool which relates current behavior, feelings, attitudes or dreams to repressed experiences or fantasies of early childhood; it is reserved for deeper psychoanalytic therapy.

Counseling is not designed to provide the group members with complete insight into their own emotions, feelings and motivations, as rooted in childhood experience. However, through the use of identification, clarification and explanation in an atmosphere of mutual acceptance, anxiety and guilt feelings are considerably reduced, and the release of emotionally-loaded material through catharsis is promoted. This permits facing, with greater awareness, past emotional experiences and present character traits, which are often observed and understood in the other group members. Later, in a working-through process, the group member identifies with the others and starts to realize that the things he objects to in others are very often his own maladjustments and deviant character traits. This process of having one's own feelings reflected in a mirror-like fashion on one's self is much more acceptable in a peer group than in individual sessions, where it has to be worked through by the patient in a face-to-face situation with a parental figure (therapist or counselor).

The increasing integration of the individual into the peer group acts as a supportive agent which reduces anxiety to an extent where the member of the group can better accept his own past, his own drives and his conflict with authoritative figures. As the counselor remains consistently permissive and accepting toward the individual, even if such acceptance does not have to extend indiscriminately to inadmissible behavior, the conflict between id impulses and harsh super-ego demands lessens. The group members become increasingly able to experience themselves as individuals who can grow independently of their rejecting and rejected parents. They can become critical of them without having to hit back in a hostile and retaliatory way.

It is commonly observed in therapeutic group settings that guilt feelings diminish when an individual's previously unacceptable id impulses are recognized by him in others.<sup>5</sup> While the group leader remains responsible for the maintenance of acceptable behavior in social situations, he can permit the verbalization



of otherwise "dangerous" thoughts and feelings, like expressions of violence and hate toward authoritative figures, or unrestrained sexual fantasies. Clarification of such feelings and explanations concerning their frequent displacements promote super-ego relaxation and greater self-acceptance. This function of the counseling group is substituted for an intensive analytic exploration of the past of the individual group member. Group counseling permits the application of the principle of "here and now" as set forth in greater detail by Ezriel and Sutherland.<sup>6</sup>

Psychoanalytic insight into the personality structure of the group members is promoted primarily in the group counselor. He uses his understanding of the deeper conflicts of the members in the treatment process, without making its full impact known to the group. This procedure makes group counseling part of the psychotherapeutic armamentarium as a "minor" psychotherapy.

#### DISCUSSION AND COMMENTS

Many attempts have been made to differentiate between varying uses of therapeutic groups and the applicability of psychotherapeutic methods in different settings.<sup>4,7</sup> The writer does not feel that it is possible at the present time to establish hard and fast rules which will make it safe to give emotionally disturbed people exactly the type of therapy or counseling which they need. The writer does not think that the "intactness of perception of reality"<sup>8</sup> can be used as a dividing line. This might be especially dangerous in children and adolescents, whose ability to perceive reality is limited, even in the most healthy individuals, and who easily lose it when anxiety increases in groups as well as in individual situations. The writer also does not feel that it is possible in any dynamically oriented and effective group process "not to encourage," that is, to implicitly discourage the expression of negative feelings, whether they represent reality or transference (which might often be impossible to differentiate without further and deeper exploration).

The experiences, as presented in this paper, show that clients and patients in a variety of group settings do not manifest great differences in what they do or do not do, or in what they say or do not say. The basic difference is established by the method which the group leader uses in his response to the feelings and attitudes expressed by the members. The group member takes his cues, not



only (and the child or adolescent not even primarily) from the verbal exchange in the group, but very frequently from the sub-verbal cues he derives from the counselor's or therapist's attitudes and from the attitudes of the other group members. S. R. Slavson was the first to demonstrate how the creation of a therapeutic atmosphere results from dynamic understanding of the individual group members and from their interaction in the group. This atmosphere is used therapeutically on a subverbal level<sup>9</sup> in activity group therapy. How children in prepuberty (latency), whose treatment by activity group therapy is based on their specific, physiologically underdeveloped egos, can profit from a counseling process based on a verbal but non-interpretative procedure has not yet been clearly demonstrated.

#### SUMMARY

The application of different dynamic methods to patients is of the greatest interest to those who are groping for a better understanding of dynamic group processes. The psychiatrist who practises, consults or supervises in the field has to confront himself constantly with the application of different methods and with the evaluation of results obtained on different therapeutic levels. There is no doubt that no value-system is applicable to a dynamic process. Neither can such a process be understood by the use of a label under which it is practised, or by the evaluation of the training background of a specific practitioner who is involved in the application of the therapeutic process.

Counseling is the primary professional field of case workers and of certain specially trained psychologists. However, the practising psychiatrist, especially if he uses his skills as a consultant to, or as a staff member of, a social agency, finds many psychiatrically interesting and useful aspects in diagnostic and therapeutic procedures which are integral parts of group counseling.

Diagnostic, therapeutic, supervisory and administrative psychiatric experiences, in connection with group psychotherapy and group counseling in different social agency and hospital settings, have been used in the preparation of this presentation.

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## COMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH ACTIVITIES OF PSYCHIATRISTS\*

BY DONALD G. LANGSLEY, M.D., AND M. ROBERT HARRIS, M.D.

Increasing awareness of the need to train psychiatrists for community services prompted this examination of the professional activities of those who have received psychiatric training at the Langley Porter Neuropsychiatric Institute. In the course of expanding the training of psychiatrists for community mental health work, it was considered essential to know just what graduates of recent years were doing in this area of psychiatry. Accordingly, this is a report of the results of a survey by questionnaire of the psychiatrists who had some or all of their professional training at Langley Porter Neuropsychiatric Institute during the years 1948-1958.

A questionnaire was mailed to 176 psychiatrists who were in training during the years mentioned. There were 145 replies available for tabulation.\*\* The questionnaire sought detailed information about various community mental health activities, including membership in various mental health associations, participation in public information activities, motivation for doing community mental health work and something about each psychiatrist's evaluation of his preparation for this kind of work. Each also was asked about his current location and his major professional activities since leaving training.

### RESULTS

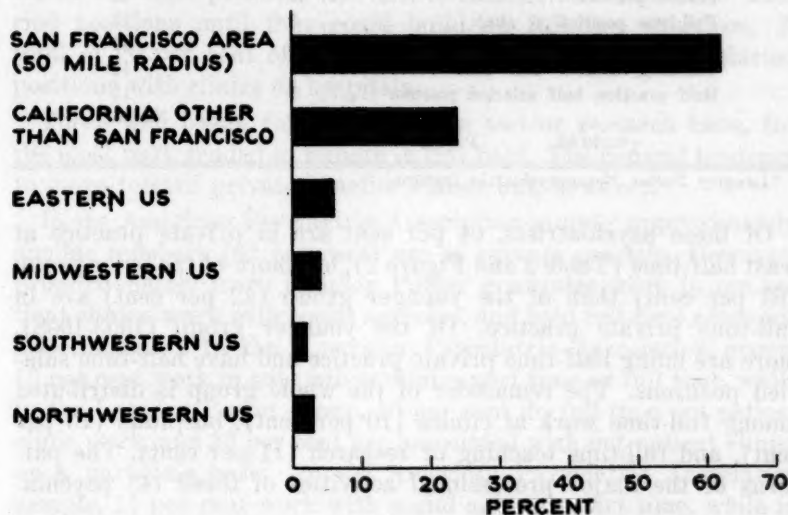
#### *Geographical Location and Major Professional Activities*

These psychiatrists have tended to remain in California and to enter private practice (Tables 1 and 2 and Figures 1 and 2). Of

\*From the Department of Psychiatry, University of California School of Medicine, San Francisco, California, and The Langley Porter Neuropsychiatric Institute, California Department of Mental Hygiene.

\*\*Initially the group of 145 was divided into two groups—one, those who were in training between 1948-1953 (80 replies), and the other group, in training between 1953-1958 (65 replies). The groups were tabulated and then compared by the  $\chi^2$  method to determine whether there were significant differences. The present major professional activities of the two groups (Table 2) were different at the 2 per cent level of significance. Table 9 shows a difference in the way that each group rated its preparation for community mental health activities (significant by inspection). All other differences between the groups showed a probability of occurring by chance more than 5 times in 100 (by  $\chi^2$  test); and, accordingly, the reports on these were combined into the single sample of 145.

Figure 1.

PRESENT GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF  
145 LPNI PSYCHIATRISTS

the group 85 per cent are now in the State of California, and 62 per cent of the total group have remained in the metropolitan area within a 50-mile radius of San Francisco. An American Psychiatric Association survey<sup>1</sup> of a nation-wide sample of psychiatrists also shows concentration of psychiatrists in metropolitan areas. Holt and Luborsky<sup>2</sup> report that of a group of Menninger School of Psychiatry graduates, only 26 per cent remain in Topeka and the others move to more metropolitan areas.

Table 1. Present Geographical Location of 145 LPNI\* Psychiatrists

	Per cent
San Francisco area (50-mile radius) .....	62
California other than San Francisco .....	23
Eastern U. S. ....	6
Midwestern U. S. ....	4
Southwestern U. S. ....	2
Northwestern U. S. ....	3
	N=145

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Table 2. Present Major Professional Activities of 145 LPNI\* Psychiatrists

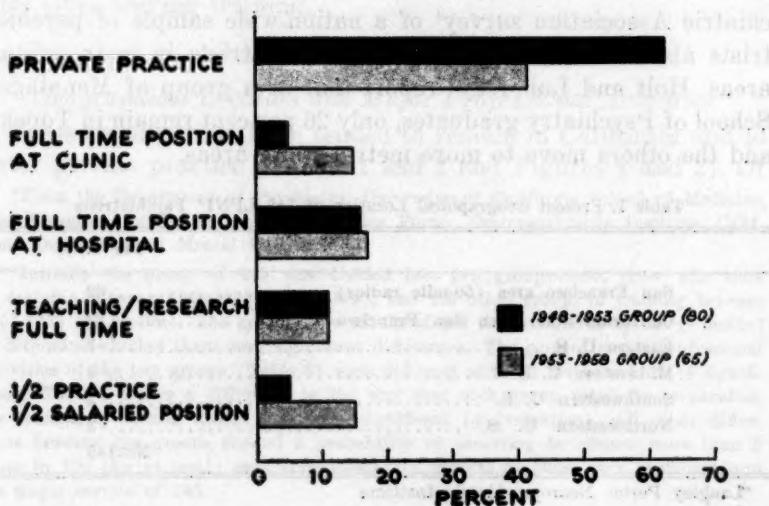
	1948-1953 group Per cent	1953-1958 group Per cent
Private practice .....	63	42
Full-time position at clinic .....	5	15
Full-time position at hospital .....	16	17
Teaching/research full time .....	11	11
Half practice, half salaried position .....	5	15
	N=80	N=65
$\chi^2=10.87$	$P<.02$	

\*Langley Porter Neuropsychiatric Institute

Of these psychiatrists, 64 per cent are in private practice at least half-time (Table 2 and Figure 2), but more of the older group (63 per cent) than of the younger group (42 per cent) are in full-time private practice. Of the younger group (1953-1958), more are doing half-time private practice and have half-time salaried positions. The remainder of the whole group is distributed among full-time work at clinics (10 per cent), hospitals (16 per cent), and full-time teaching or research (11 per cent). The patterns of the major professional activities of these 145 psychia-

Figure 2.

### PRESENT MAJOR PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES OF 145 LPNI PSYCHIATRISTS





trists (from the time of leaving the Langley Porter Neuropsychiatric Institute to the present) are presented in Table 3. Of the group who started practice after training, half immediately began full-time practice, and the remainder took half-time salaried positions until they could build up full-time practices. A total of 20 per cent of the group remained in full-time salaried positions with clinics or hospitals.

Those who began full-time teaching and/or research have, for the most part, tended to remain in this field. The general tendency to move toward private practice stands out, however.

In the American Psychiatric Association sample<sup>1</sup> approximately similar numbers (62 per cent) are in private practice. However, proportionately more Langley Porter graduates work in out-patient clinics, work with social agencies, and hold full-time academic appointments. In the American Psychiatric Association group, 13 per cent work in out-patient clinics part time or full time, while in the Langley Porter group, 10 per cent do full-time out-patient clinic work, and 33 per cent are associated with out-patient clinics on a part-time basis. In the American Psychiatric Association sample, 11 per cent work with social agencies part time, while in the Langley Porter group, 48 per cent do part-time consultation. In the national sample, 34 per cent are involved in teaching, but less than 1 per cent hold full-time academic appointments, while

Table 3. Patterns of Major Professional Activities of 145 LPNI\* Psychiatrists Since Training

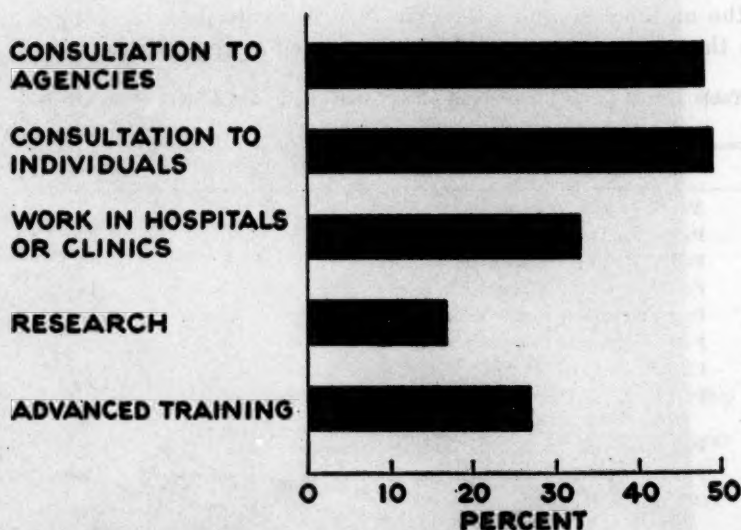
	Per cent
<i>No Change in Pattern</i>	
Private practice full time .....	20
Full-time hospital position .....	13
Full-time teaching/research .....	11
Part-time practice and salaried position .....	13
Full-time salaried clinic position .....	7
<i>Change in Pattern</i>	
Part-time practice and part-time salaried position, then full-time practice .....	20
Full-time clinic or hospital position, then practice .....	8
Practice full-time, then part or full-time salaried position	3
Others not classified as above .....	5
	N=145

\*Langley Porter Neuropsychiatric Institute

in the Langley Porter group, 32 per cent are involved in part-time teaching and 11 per cent hold full-time teaching appointments. Comparison of the Langley Porter graduates with the Menninger group<sup>2</sup> in regard to major professional work shows that the two have similar distributions, except that more Topeka trainees work in community clinics and more Langley Porter trainees are in full-time academic work. In the Menninger sample, 40 per cent are in private practice; 19 per cent in hospital psychiatry; 32 per cent in community clinics and 4 per cent in academic work. The Langley Porter group shows larger numbers working full time in state hospitals with 3 per cent of the Topeka group and 22 per cent of the Langley Porter group\* holding full-time positions (with state mental hygiene departments). More of the Menninger group (50 per cent) than of the Langley Porter group (26 per cent) are involved in psychoanalytic training. See Table 4 and Figure 3 for data on these activities of the Langley Porter group.

Figure 3.

### OTHER CURRENT PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES OF 145 LPNI PSYCHIATRISTS



\*These data are not in separate tables, since employment with the State Mental Hygiene Department includes work at state hospitals and state mental hygiene clinics.

Table 4. Other Current Professional Activities of 145 LPNI\* Psychiatrists

	Per cent
Consultation to agencies	
1-4 hours weekly .....	37
5-9 hours weekly .....	8
10-20 hours weekly .....	3
Consultation to individuals	
1-4 hours weekly .....	39
5-9 hours weekly .....	6
10-20 hours weekly .....	4
Work in hospitals or clinics	
1-4 hours weekly .....	19
5-9 hours weekly .....	6
10-20 hours weekly .....	8
Research	
1-4 hours weekly .....	10
5-9 hours weekly .....	5
10-20 hours weekly .....	2
Advanced training**	
1-4 hours weekly .....	14
More than 4 hours weekly .....	13
	N=145

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\*\*A total of 26 per cent of the sample is engaged in psychoanalytic training or the practice of psychoanalysis.

*Community Mental Health Activities*

A majority of the Langley Porter psychiatrists spend one to five hours a week in community mental health work, predominantly in consultation to agencies and clinics. Table 5 shows a breakdown by type of activities. Many psychiatrists are also active in local mental health organizations, and others devote time to public

Table 5. Specific Community Mental Health Activities of 145 LPNI\* Psychiatrists

	Per cent
Teach residents, other students in organized training programs ....	32
Work at mental hygiene or child guidance clinics .....	33
Consult to school systems .....	23
Consult to courts, probation depts. etc. ....	24
Consult to family serv. agency, depts. public welfare .....	40
Consult to residential homes for children and aged .....	12
College student health services .....	11
Consult with misc. individuals (ministers, other M.D.'s, non-M.D. therapists) .....	23
	N=145

\*Langley Porter Neuropsychiatric Institute

information activities. Those who begin community mental health work do not drop it, though the questionnaires showed minor differences in that the younger group gave time to agencies and the older group gave time to out-patient clinics. A third of the group members are involved in organized training programs and have continued their teaching. This is one activity that almost no psychiatrist dropped. Many psychiatrists on full or half-time salaried positions are also involved in community mental health activities as part of their major professional work, but the figures in Table 5 include only those doing such work on a less than half-time basis. The largest numbers of psychiatrists doing community mental health work are those who are consultants to school systems, agencies, and courts, and who work at out-patient clinics; but this by no means exhausts the possibilities. The writers originally were able to tabulate 19 different types of community mental health services provided by Langley Porter Institute trainees.

Another indication of psychiatric participation in the field of community mental health is membership in local mental health associations (not professional psychiatric societies). Over half of the Langley Porter group held membership, and a fourth held offices or served on committees (Table 6). Over half of the group's psychiatrists gave talks to lay groups, took part in radio or TV programs (44 per cent, one to three times a year and 23 per cent, four to 10 times a year). See Table 7.

Three-fourths of the group gave as their reason for doing community mental health work, the fact that they either particularly enjoyed this work or felt that it was of major importance despite a lack of personal interest (Table 8). Only three psychiatrists

Table 6. Membership and Participation in Local Mental Health Agencies  
of 145 LPNI\* Psychiatrists

	Per cent
Hold membership in local mental health associations. ....	54
Do not hold membership in such .....	46
Hold office or serve on committee .....	24
Do not hold office or committee position .....	30
Give 1-2 hours monthly to mental health assn. ....	18
Give more than 2 hours monthly to such .....	6
	N=145

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Table 7. How Often 145 LPNI\* Psychiatrists Participate in Public Information Activities

	Per cent
Not at all .....	24
1-3 times yearly .....	44
4-10 times yearly .....	23
More than 10 times yearly ....	9
	N=145

\*Langley Porter Neuropsychiatric Institute

Table 8. Stated Motivation of 145 LPNI\* Psychiatrists for Doing Community Mental Health Work

	Per cent
Enjoy doing this part time .....	48
Special personal interest and enjoyment .....	9
Feels it's important work and should be done .....	20
No interest or motivation .....	4
Economic need only .....	2
Would like to do this work full time .....	3
No answer .....	14
	N=145

\*Langley Porter Neuropsychiatric Institute

admitted that their sole motivation (insofar as motivation can be determined by questionnaire) was economic.

### DISCUSSION

The tabulation of a survey can be a dull listing of numbers, but a dislike for numbers should not relieve those involved in the training of psychiatrists from continuous examination of training programs. To meet the educational needs of psychiatrists in training, it is important to have some awareness of what psychiatrists actually do professionally. One must be able to project into the future and provide for change in our profession, so as to anticipate and meet the needs of the future. Facts that stand out in the results of this questionnaire are that the majority of the psychiatrists we train are entering private practice and that a large proportion of these are involved in community mental health activities. This community work includes consultation to agencies,



Table 9. How 145 LPNI\* Psychiatrists Rated Their Preparation For Community Mental Health Activities

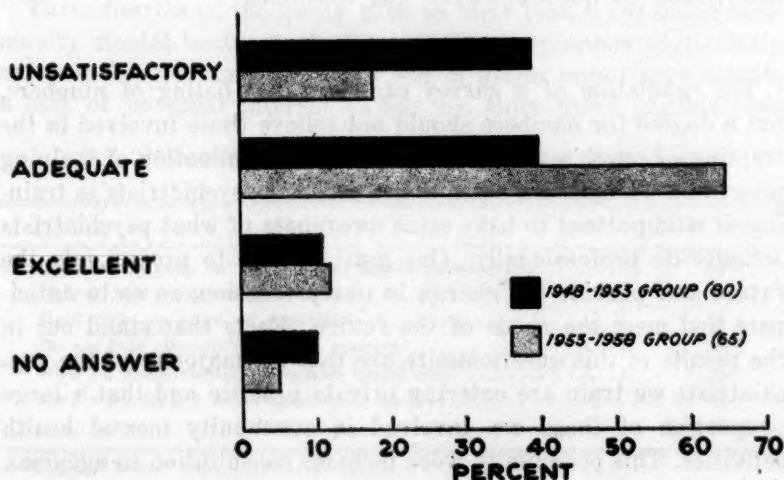
	1948-1953 group Per cent	1953-1958 group Per cent
Unsatisfactory .....	39	18
Adequate .....	40	65
Excellent .....	11	12
No answer .....	10	5
	N=80	N=65

\*Langley Porter Neuropsychiatric Institute

schools, and individuals as well as clinical work in outpatient departments. Three-fourths of the psychiatrists polled indicated some particular enjoyment or interest in this work, or a feeling that it is of special importance to psychiatry. But a considerable number of these physicians (39 per cent in the 1948-53 group, and 19 per cent in the 1953-58 group) expressed dissatisfaction with their residency training in community organization and community mental health (Table 9 and Figure 4). In answering the

Figure 4.

#### HOW 145 LPNI PSYCHIATRISTS RATED THEIR PREPARATION FOR COMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH ACTIVITIES



question as to what would have been most helpful in preparation for their community roles 34 per cent felt that some sort of supervised experience in consultation to agencies would have been extremely useful.

From the information gleaned from these questionnaires plus actual experience of the out-patient department staff in organizing training programs in the community mental health area, the writers have concluded that any satisfactory training program must be firmly grounded in actual field experience in one of the numerous community agencies. In 1959, a program of orientation and training to meet the needs of the community and of community mental health was presented to the residents and staff of the out-patient department at the Langley Porter Neuropsychiatric Institute. This program was primarily of a didactic nature, with well-informed individuals from the community coming to speak about various areas which they represented. As a small part of this program, a few residents accompanied a psychiatric consultant on one of his visits to an agency. It was apparent that the lecture approach left much to be desired. In fact, this concept of the "community" coming to the training hospital seems antithetical to the total program goal of familiarizing the resident with the community as it exists. Much more active discussion and interest arose in the group when the residents who had accompanied consultants to agencies reported their experiences.

Initially, it was wondered how agencies and their consultants would react to psychiatric residents coming to observe, learn, and participate in all the vital activities of an agency. It has been interesting to see, in the preliminary planning contacts with agencies, how really interested and available they are for this type of program. Most agencies that have been approached have indicated that all of their activities will be freely open to participation by the resident; and their orientation to the presence of the resident in the agency has not been geared in any exclusive way to the professional services the resident will provide for them. Agencies have evidenced a responsible feeling about more adequate training for psychiatrists who may be their future consultants, and regard their participation in this program as an investment in their own future.

The existing program of the out-patient department provides many avenues of entry to the community and its agencies. The

resident and staff now hold professional conferences in the agencies which are already involved with patients in treatment. However, it has been felt that for actual community mental health training, the resident should have a longer period of experience with one agency rather than brief contact with several agencies. The types of community agencies available for resident field placement are numerous, and contact is envisioned with schools, courts, probation programs, family service agencies, and so forth. The directors of the Community Mental Health Service Program in California have indicated interest in having some of the residents accompany them to actual community meetings, when various programs of mental health are being planned and initiated. As a part of the training program, it has been planned that each psychiatric resident will directly study a family in its home setting and examine this family's involvement with various community agencies, evaluating the family's met and unmet community needs.

The supervision of this community mental health training program will rest with a team consisting of a psychiatrist, social worker, psychologist, and public health nurse consultant. It is anticipated that, eventually, trainees from all these disciplines will be included in the training program. This supervisory team will have important additional roles in promoting good community relations, as well as in actively promoting greater awareness of the community and its agencies in the full staff of the Langley Porter Neuropsychiatric Institute.

#### SUMMARY

1. A survey of the professional activities of a group of 145 psychiatrists trained at the Langley Porter Neuropsychiatric Institute showed two-thirds of the group in private practice, 20 per cent in full-time salaried work at clinics or hospitals and 11 per cent in full-time academic work.

2. More than half of those in private practice spend one to five hours a week doing community mental health work. These psychiatrists indicate that the most valuable preparation for such work would be to provide some supervised field experience during the psychiatric residency in doing consultation with agencies or individuals.

3. A proposed program for training psychiatric residents in community mental health work is outlined.

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Parnassus and First Avenues  
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#### REFERENCES

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## FROM CONFLICT TO CO-OPERATION BETWEEN RELIGION AND PSYCHIATRY\*

BY JAMES A. KNIGHT, M.D.

The extent of suffering from mental illness is appalling, in our country and in the world. We face the dual challenge of what is our part in the healing of these sick people and what can be done to prevent mental illness. Many individuals and groups are interested. They represent a diversity of belief, training, and action. The two disciplines most actively involved are psychiatry and religion. Representatives of these two groups have often been enemies; at other times only rivals; and, at present, they are often allies in a concerted effort to cure and prevent the psychic ills of men.

The physically ill person, no matter how far into history one probes, has seldom doubted that he was sick. In his pain, he learned to ask others to help him and to relieve his physical distress. Out of the patient's request for help, appeared the primitive doctor. The doctor tried to supply what the patient demanded, and this effort has been the potent stimulus to advances in medicine and surgery through the ages. The patient has generally idealized his doctor and imposed upon him an ethical tradition which has undergone little modification through the centuries. The Oath of Hippocrates is such a formulation, and its appreciation and acceptance today are as fresh and vital as when the oath was first penned.

If one looks at mental illness, the picture of the historical process is different from that of physical illness. The mentally ill patient has usually not been aware that he was ill. Though he often appeared "different" to those around him, he almost always recognized no change in himself. In many primitive cultures, he was looked upon as spirit-possessed and was indulged and revered. This type of sick person was actually regarded as a superior person, endowed with special powers. No one thought for a moment that medicine had any power or right to treat the mentally ill, and the mentally sick individual did not usually seek or want a doctor. The frightened community would not seek the help of medicine, because the medical profession had no right to touch the supernatural, the things of the spirit. This attitude delayed the intro-

\*From Baylor University College of Medicine, Houston, Texas.



duction of medicine into the field of mental disease. Doctors were also human and were products of their eras and cultures; and they did not attempt to violate the mores of their communities. As mental illness gradually evolved into a matter of the spirit, they were quite willing to leave the mentally ill in the hands of the priest. The treatment of these mentally ill ranged from the grant of special privileges to being burned at the stake.

During the Middle Ages, mental illness was associated with witchcraft, and countless mentally-ill patients were executed in numerous ways by the church and the state. At this same time, there were some quiet monasteries which cared for the deranged with kindness and humility.<sup>1</sup> Thus, whichever treatment prevailed, the "spirit-possessed" person was for a long time denied medical treatment.

In the evolution of medical specialties, psychiatry did not develop along the same lines as medicine and surgery. Zilboorg has described lucidly the opposition the physician encountered: "He faced danger to his reputation and person when he tried to convince the world that the 'insane' were ill and to convert the neurotic and the 'insane' to the singular belief that they were sick people and could be treated as such and cured. The patient suffering from appendicitis created the abdominal surgeon, the feverish and delirious man who had a sharp pain in his chest created the specialist in pneumonias, but it was the doctor who created the specialty of psychiatry. He did it uninvited and against terrible odds, against the will of the public, against the will of established legal authority, and against the will of a variety of established religious faiths."<sup>2</sup> Possibly the medical profession does not deserve as much credit as Zilboorg seems to imply, for many laymen and churchmen have made major contributions in this field, and made them at times when their enlightened efforts met bitter opposition.

Medicine, nevertheless, is a newcomer in the field of the treatment of mental disease. For centuries jurisprudence, theology, and philosophy dealt with the insane. Even today these disciplines are reluctant to relinquish their right of eminent domain. The medical man has had to force his way into this field. With this historical perspective, the uneasy tensions and efforts at co-operation between psychiatry and religion take on new meaning.

If one turns toward the present-day interrelationships of psychiatry and religion, he wonders why the church has been so

hesitant to accept and utilize many of the insights of modern psychiatry. It is generally felt that the atheistic bias of the early psychiatrists caused this delay and hesitation.

Freud and many of the other leaders in the development of modern psychiatry were heirs of a curious double legacy from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They were descendants of the eighteenth century Enlightenment, that great movement of religious humanism. The emphasis was not on a City of God in heaven but on a heavenly city of man on earth, wherein a good society was achieved for men and by men, ordered by reason and experience. Men were educated toward freedom and enlightenment. Though the Enlightenment was not irreligious, it was on the whole, anti-Christian. The basic belief was that man could make for himself a good life, in fact the best life available for him.

The other great ideological development which influenced Freud and his psychiatric colleagues was the reductive naturalism of the nineteenth century. In this movement, God is ruled out, and human values emerge in a natural process that is otherwise blind or indifferent to the human enterprise. Man makes of nature what he can, and it is a foolish illusion to believe that nature is the created organism in which God is working out his purpose.

These two traditions of religious humanism and reductive naturalism came into sharp conflict with the Judeo-Christian tradition. Though Freud denied any interest in the question of philosophical presuppositions, one finds on studying his writings powerful residues of reductive naturalism and Enlightenment humanism at work in his system-building and constructs. One can also observe this influence when exploring the attitudes of psychiatrists toward personality, freedom, philosophy, ethics, and religion.

Another factor influencing Freud's philosophy of life, and especially his attitude toward religion, was the religious life of Vienna in his day. He was a Jew, encircled and influenced by the obsessively anti-Semitic culture of Imperial Austria. It is unfortunate that Freud, living in the Vienna and Europe of 1875 to 1925, came into contact with poor manifestations of religious faith. He could find nothing challenging in his own Jewish faith in Vienna, in the Roman Catholicism of the Austrian Empire, or in the Protestantism of Victorian England. His conclusions about religion arose in part from unhappy experiences with followers of the three

great faiths. Also the use and misuse of religion by his patients gave him a distorted view of religion.

A fresh religious breeze which swept across Germany during the latter part of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth century was the movement of higher criticism. This was followed, during and after World War I, by the movement of form criticism (*Formgeschichte*).<sup>3</sup> This new direction in Biblical research, of which Albert Schweitzer was a part, studied the origins and development of the Biblical writings with scientific criticism and scrutiny, bringing to bear in its research every tool of scientific investigation available and appropriate. The scholars involved in this school were kindred spirits in some ways with Freud, yet he seems to have had no awareness of their existence and their creative search for truth in Biblical research and exegesis. Possibly a solid acquaintance with these scholars would have softened his pessimism about the church.

Karl Stern, a prominent Canadian psychiatrist, has often said that Freud's atheistic philosophy is a tragic accident of history.<sup>4</sup> This atheistic philosophy so blinded churchmen that they could not see the monumental contribution Freud had made through the theory, insights, and techniques of psychoanalysis. The church delayed for a half-century before appropriating and utilizing the psychoanalytic insights so desperately needed in its work of education, training, and counseling.

Many have tried to de-emphasize Freud's attacks on religion. This is unrealistic when the record is studied. Religion was a continually recurring topic in his writings during the entire course of his long and productive life. His earliest attack upon religion is to be found in an article entitled "Obsessive Acts and Religious Practices," published in 1907 and now available in Volume II of his *Collected Papers*.<sup>5</sup> In this paper he stressed the similarity between religious expressions of piety and the obsessive behavior of his neurotic patients. He reiterated and expanded this theme in a series of four volumes which followed: *Totem and Tabu* (1913); *The Future of an Illusion* (1928); *Civilization and Its Discontents* (1930); and *Moses and Monotheism* (1939).

When one examines Freud's antireligious bias, he sees also "the other side of the coin." Freud had to be interested in religion to spend so much time discussing and writing about it. He gave more published attention to religion than to any other subject except

the theory and practice of psychoanalysis as a form of therapy. Some argue that he was close to some kind of personal acceptance of religion<sup>6</sup> in spite of the fact that Freud denied this in his *New Introductory Lectures*, in 1933. His feeling was that religious influence arrested man's growing understanding of the universe and of himself, and it was necessary that he give serious attention to this powerful enemy.

In spite of his attacks on organized religion and his rejection of any kind of personal religious commitment, his debt to one religious tradition as a source of many of his psychoanalytic ideas is brilliantly discussed in a recent book by David Bakan.<sup>7</sup> The hypothesis of Bakan's essay is that a full appreciation of the development of psychoanalysis is essentially incomplete unless it be viewed against the history of Judaism, and particularly against the history of Jewish mystical thought. Freud had, as a Jew, says Bakan, learned to think in the traditionally Jewish mystical manner; and any person brought up in a Jewish environment will inevitably absorb something of this mode of thinking, and it will remain with him all the years of his life. Bakan goes on to show that the Jewish mystical tradition is essentially Kabbalistic, using the term in a general sense to mean not only the traditional, but also to cover most of those works which, like the *Zohar*, were designed to show the newly initiated how to extract the hidden meanings and mysteries from the scriptures. Secrecy, power, and mystery pervade the Kabbalistic tradition. Bakan argues that Freud, in his thinking, is in the direct line of succession of the Kabbalists. He goes on to compare the Kabbalistic tradition with certain aspects of psychoanalysis: "The Kabbalistic tradition has it that the secret teachings are to be transmitted orally to one person at a time, and even then only to selected minds and by hints. This is indeed what Freud was doing in the actual practice of psychoanalysis, and this aspect of the Kabbalistic tradition is still maintained in the education of the modern psychoanalyst. He must receive the tradition orally (in the training analysis). As the modern practicing psychoanalyst is quick to tell anyone, psychoanalysis is not to be learned from books!"<sup>8</sup>

Much of what Freud described and attacked as religion deserved it. The sterility of the established churches of his time has already been described. Later some qualms appeared to strike him be-



cause of his wholesale condemnation. He admitted that he must bow to the reproach that he had no consolation to offer humanity.\*

He had many close religious friends. Chief among them was Dr. Oskar Pfister, Swiss clergyman and psychoanalyst. Dr. Pfister joined Freud for training when the psychoanalytic movement was in its infancy. He enjoyed throughout the years Freud's lasting friendship and confidence. Dr. Pfister functioned in the dual capacity of clergyman and psychoanalyst. He wrote widely and probably made his greatest contribution in the application of psychoanalytic insights to the field of education.

August Aichhorn, an educator and worker with juvenile delinquents,\* was also a close friend of Freud's. Though he did not profess allegiance to a particular religious persuasion, his treatment techniques in his school for delinquents were based on *New Testament* principles. This is strongly emphasized in Oskar Pfister's essay on Aichhorn published in the book, *Searchlights on Delinquency*.<sup>10</sup>

Another close friend of Freud who was devoutly religious was the distinguished Dr. James J. Putnam, professor of neuropathology at Harvard. Freud came to America in 1909 to present a series of lectures to a group celebrating the twentieth anniversary of Clark University at Worcester, Mass. During this visit the friendship between him and Putnam developed. Putnam became convinced that Freud's discoveries confirmed and extended many of his own psychiatric ideas. He became an effective representative of the psychoanalytic movement in America. Freud graciously acknowledged his indebtedness to this man of lofty ethical standards and moral rectitude in tributes such as this one: "The esteem he enjoyed throughout America on account of his high moral character and unflinching love of truth was of great service to psychoanalysis and protected it against the denunciations which might otherwise have early overwhelmed it."<sup>11</sup>

It is interesting to note that Putnam became convinced that the psychoanalytic theories required a wider philosophical and ethical orientation than Freud had allowed. He insisted to Freud, Ernest Jones, and others that psychoanalysis as a science should be linked to a particular philosophical system, and that its clinical practice should be openly associated with a particular set of ethical

\*Aichhorn describes his experiences in his book, *Wayward Youth*, Viking, New York, 1953.



doctrines. Freud seemed to interpret this solicitude of Putnam as a natural outgrowth of Putnam's religious concerns and his desire to establish the closest relations between psychoanalysis and the aims which lay nearest his heart. Freud and his followers, however, rejected Putnam's proposals. In the preface to Putnam's posthumous *Addresses on Psycho-Analysis*, Freud explains why he resisted the proposals: "The decisive reason for the rejection of Putnam's proposals was the doubt as to which of the countless philosophical systems should be accepted, since they all seemed to rest on an equally insecure basis, and since everything had up till then been sacrificed for the sake of the relative certainty of the results of psychoanalysis. It seemed more prudent to wait, and to discover whether a particular attitude towards life might be forced upon us with all the weight of necessity by analytical investigation itself."<sup>2</sup> Actually Putnam only insisted that an effort be made to move beyond the empiricism and naturalism which characterized the early analytic movement.

Why did Freud and his associates reject Putnam's proposals? Was it because they already had a philosophical system, that of humanism, reductive naturalism, and secularism of the nineteenth century? The theologian Albert C. Outler would strongly answer "Yes," to this question: "Yet all the while, they were themselves working in a context which simply had no place for Putnam's principles. They declined the philosophic enterprise because they already had a philosophic outlook which had come to be taken so for granted that all contrary philosophical possibilities were ignored, by not being seen as possibilities at all!"<sup>3</sup>

Though one may be offended by Freud's amateur theology and his materialistic, atheistic, deterministic philosophy, it should be remembered that his philosophic views are totally separate from his psychoanalytic theories and techniques. Thus his work can be divided into two distinct areas. If he had only developed psychoanalysis and said or written nothing about his atheistic philosophy, he would have been far more widely accepted today by the church. Many churchmen are so blinded by his religious views that they cannot look further to see his monumental contributions toward the understanding of human behavior.

In spite of the atheistic viewpoint of the early psychoanalytic movement, much is happening today in a co-operative way between psychiatry and religion.

Carl Gustav Jung should be given recognition for his contribution. His religious attitudes were the first antidote within psychiatry to those of Freud. Freud stressed an analysis of the patient's past in psychotherapy. Jung tended to stress the present life situation and an over-all need for a synthesis on the part of an individual. He recognized one of the psychological values of religion as providing an individual's life with unity and meaning. Religion, thus, played a more important role in the therapeutic methods of Jung than in those of Freud. Many Roman Catholic writers such as Victor White, Louis Beiernaert, Karl Stern, and Gerald Vann have shown themselves in their publications to be in considerable agreement with the Jungian theories of the collective unconscious, of archetypal symbols, and of the innate religious function. On the other hand, there has probably been a closer correspondence between the Protestant tradition and the Freudian analysis. Especially in America, more attention has been given to Freud than Jung by Protestant writers, probably because psychological considerations play a large part in pastoral counseling. Protestantism has not had the confessional, and possibly this has been one of the reasons why it developed a strong pastoral counseling ministry earlier than Catholicism. Also the general Protestant approach, regarding techniques and insights, is likely to have more in common with Freudian analysis than Jungian psychology. Dillistone<sup>14</sup> discusses this in more detail.

Pope Pius XII performed a much needed task of clarification in reference to the Catholic attitude toward psychiatry. On April 13, 1953, he spoke to the Fifth International Congress on Psychotherapy and Clinical Psychology. His address was entitled "On Psychotherapy and Religion."<sup>15</sup> This was the first papal document dealing formally with the question of psychiatry, and it was heartening and forward-looking. He encouraged Catholics to "labor on a terrain that is very difficult," and assured them that their activity in this area was "capable of achieving precious results for medicine, for the knowledge of the soul in general, for the religious dispositions of man and for their development."

In the past 10 years there have been consistent efforts from both psychiatry and religion for *rapprochement* and collaboration.

The oldest and one of the most successful forms of collaboration is through the mental hospital chaplain. The chaplain's training generally represents a joint effort of psychiatrists and clergy-

men. This work is co-ordinated through the Council for Clinical Training.

The Menninger Foundation has been active in many co-operative efforts between religion and psychiatry. Chaplain-conducted seminars for psychiatric residents are held each year, and the Edward F. Gallahue Conference on Religion and Psychiatry is held annually. Representatives from the clergy, psychiatry, and related disciplines are brought together under the direction of Karl Menninger for the presentation of papers and fruitful, stimulating discussion.

The clergy have taken significant steps to secure psychiatric information as a help in pastoral care. Psychiatrists are now lecturing on the faculties of several theological seminaries. Many workshops and training centers have been established. The extent to which such facilities exist under Protestant auspices may be seen from the directory of such services, published each year in the January issue of *Pastoral Psychology*. Though such facilities have not been developed as extensively under Catholic auspices, workshops are held at St. John's University, Fordham University, and several others.

There have been some outstanding joint undertakings by psychiatry and religion. There are a number of church-sponsored psychiatric clinics. One of the best known is that located at the Marble Collegiate Church in New York City. Psychiatrist Smiley Blanton and clergyman Norman Vincent Peale have been the chief guiding lights in the development of this clinic; and in 1937 they formed the American Foundation of Religion and Psychiatry, an agency combining treatment of patients with clinical training of clergymen.

An effort with great potential for co-operative endeavor began with the establishment of the Academy of Religion and Mental Health in 1955, with offices at 16 East 34th St., New York City. The academy brings together psychiatrists and clergymen of all faiths and members of other related disciplines, for consideration and resolution of problems arising between religion and psychiatry, and for work together as a multi-disciplinary approach in many areas of mental health and illness. The academy succeeded in securing a grant of \$435,893 from the National Institute of Mental Health for the development of a mental health curriculum for theological students. The grant is spread over a five-year

period and has been divided among a Catholic, a Protestant, and a Jewish institution—with Loyola University of Chicago receiving \$151,470; Harvard University, \$148,127; and Yeshiva University, New York City, \$136,296. The money is being used for pilot and evaluation projects in the development of mental health curricula.

Another example, coming from psychiatry, of an effort at cooperation and understanding, is the work of the committee on psychiatry and religion of the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry (GAP). GAP was formed in 1946 as an independent group and has a membership of approximately 185 psychiatrists, organized in the form of a number of working committees which direct their efforts toward the study of various aspects of psychiatry and toward the application of their knowledge, to the fields of mental health and human relations. An illuminating report was issued by GAP in March, 1958, entitled *Some Considerations of Early Attempts in Cooperation Between Religion and Psychiatry*.

A unique adventure in the field of religion and health is the Institute of Religion, located in the Texas Medical Center, Houston, Texas. The Texas Medical Center occupies 164 acres with schools of medicine, nursing, dentistry, and many hospitals and medical facilities. It was conceived as a means of integrating and co-ordinating—as a health team—training, research, and patient care. Since ministers are needed as members of the health team, the center established the nation's first institute of religion in such a setting. A principal objective, besides rendering service, is to provide clinical study and training for theological students in actual, practical hospital situations. Five Texas theological seminaries are co-operating in this nondenominational program, and, through these seminaries, advanced degrees are given. Their students rotate through the institute facilities for varying lengths of time, depending on the goals of each student. It should be mentioned that the institute is concerned with religion and health and does not confine its work and training efforts to mental hospital settings. It is involved in the total program of pastoral care, endeavoring to train its students in a healing ministry to the sick, both in and out of the hospital.

Another indication of interest and collaboration is the large number of books and articles pouring off the presses and composed by psychiatrists, clergymen, professional writers and others. Some of these writings are good, but many are poor and confusing.



There are several psychiatrists in the country who are also clergymen. These individuals, trained in both disciplines, have been valuable interpreters in helping those trained in only one to see both sides of the picture.

One note of warning should be sounded. Some clergymen, after getting training in pastoral psychology and hospital chaplaincy duties, begin looking upon themselves as psychotherapists and gradually abandon the priestly role. They establish private offices, do psychotherapy, and are responsible to no authority for the caliber of their performances or the ethics of their conduct. The very term pastoral psychologist implies that a pastorate is involved. And when a pastorate is involved, the clergyman is responsible to his congregation and to higher ecclesiastical authorities. If he then wants to become a psychotherapist, he should become one by fulfilling the top training requirements for that field. A psychotherapist responsible to no authorized authority is a far cry from the psychiatrist who must answer to his state board of medical examiners, his county medical society, and the courts of law in medico-legal responsibility. An inadequately trained psychotherapist in private practice usurps privileges without being able to assume medico-legal responsibility. Psychiatry's major contribution to the clergyman's training is to impart to him its knowledge of human behavior in order that he, as a pastor, may use psychiatric insights in his priestly functions—in crises such as illness and death, in preaching, in premarital training, in religious education programs, and in pastoral counseling. Most psychiatrists consider it a privilege and opportunity to aid in the training of the pastor, but not to aid in helping create a half-trained private psychotherapist.

It is encouraging that psychiatry and religion are joining hands in co-operative effort. They both agree that life can be ordered to good ends which enrich and fulfill personal and communal life. They share a common belief that love and truth generate an atmosphere in which human character matures and is transformed.

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## EDITORIAL COMMENT

### "DON'T TREAD ON ME"

The serpent stood for sex eons before the tiger stood for Princeton. To the student of psychological dynamics, it scarcely occurs that snake-symbol can be other than sex-symbol. So some sort of obeisance should be shown to Drs. Lura and Duilio Pedrini for demonstrating, in their paper starting in this issue of this journal,\* that there is more to snake-symbolism than sexuality. They see, and so state specifically, the substratum of sex symbols (principally unconscious); but they find, in their higher strata, conscious symbols in which the snake stands for such diverse ideas as evil, benevolence, reason, sensuousness—the attributes of both idealism and materialism.

The snake as a symbol, for man's purposes, is a world-encompassing subject, one as difficult to grasp figuratively, as to grasp a living snake in reality; perhaps any discussion should be hissed snake-fashion—low-toned, in the alliterative long lines of Anglo-Saxon verse. But from the sacred asp to Jormungand, the Midgard Serpent, the theme of sexuality underlies the snake-lore of the Occident.

The serpent of Eden has always been recognizable as a symbol of sex. The first thing the man and woman did after they obtained the knowledge of good and evil was to recognize themselves as naked and make themselves aprons (to hide their genitalia). And it has been freely assumed, if it has not been an article of faith, that the sex act was the original sin in Eden for which the unredeemed children of Adam are still being punished. Yet if the snake is sex, sex is the reproduction of life, and the snake is thus a symbol of life—of continuing life, of everlasting life. It has so been recognized, for good or evil, from time immemorial.

The sex symbolism of the snake seems to rest primarily on the fact that the serpent, with head erect, ready to strike, resembles the erect phallus. Certain snakes also expand head or neck, when in a striking position, to add to the likeness. The snake as a sex symbol is, of course, a deity. He is a deity because the phallus

\*Pedrini, Lura Nancy and Duilio T.: Serpent imagery and symbolism in the major English Romantic poets: Blake, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, Keats. *PSYCHIAT. QUART. SUPPL.*, 34:2, 189-244, Part 2, 1960.

is also a deity, the magical giver of life. And the snake is a deity because, besides being a phallus, he sheds his skin instead of dying, crawls out resplendent in a new one, and so lives forever. He is a deity because when he is pictured with his tail in his mouth, he forms a circle, a line never broken and so a sign of eternity; as such, he may be symbolized in a finger-ring, a magic circle for divining, or the serpent who girds Midgard. He is also a chthonic symbol of great power; he originates in the earth, coming from a hole in it and returning to a hole in it (also sexual symbolism); he has access to the secrets of birth and death, and so of the underworld. As a knower of the unknown, the snake is also a figure of wisdom, like the snake of Eden, and a figure of healing, as possessed of the knowledge to drive out disease.

Aaron's rod turned into a serpent to impress Pharaoh with the power of the LORD. Then the wise men, sorcerers and physicians of Egypt cast down their rods, which also became serpents; but Aaron's serpent ate the Egyptian serpents.\* When the LORD sent fiery serpents to punish the children of Israel because they grumbled in the wilderness, the serpents bit the people, and "much people of Israel died." Then Moses, at the LORD's direction, made a fiery serpent of his own out of brass and "put it upon a pole, and it came to pass, that if a serpent had bitten any man, when he beheld the serpent of brass, he lived."\*\* Israel might not worship God in the guise of a bull or "golden calf," but veneration of the serpent was another matter. Some authorities believe that the ark of the covenant, far from being empty, contained a brazen serpent.† At any rate, Hezekiah, the reform-king of Judah, who "did that which was right in the sight of the LORD," "brake in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses had made: for unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense to it..."‡

These Biblical serpents were phallic. Whether or no they possessed attributes of the Deity—and they were certainly at least conceived as His supernatural representatives—they were identical with the serpent-gods openly worshipped by the peoples neigh-

\*Exodus 7. 12-14.

\*\*Numbers 21. 6-9.

†Davies, A. Powell: *The Ten Commandments*. Signet Key Book. New American Library. New York.

‡Kings 18. 3, 4.

boring to Israel. Further, Aaron's rod was a recognizable phallic symbol before it became a serpent, and the pole on which Moses hoisted the serpent of brass was such as many Near Eastern peoples worshipped (and one need not even go to the Near East but merely consider the Maypole).

Besides special psychiatric interest in symbolism of all sorts, medicine in general has interest in snake symbolism, as the sign of Asclepius, god of healing, whose image, holding a curative serpent, was set among the stars by Zeus.\* Asclepius' snake and staff were a double sexual (and healing) symbol: but modern medicine has redoubled it—evidently on the theory that if one serpent is good, two are better—by substituting the serpent-entwined caduceus of Hermes, originally decorated with heraldic white ribbons that were later mistaken for snakes because Hermes was herald to Hades.\*\* Furthermore, when the ribbons were mistaken for snakes, the snakes were conceived to be copulating—a most potent addition to the caduceus' magical properties—though natural history† testifies that snakes copulate in a different, and far less picturesque, fashion. Asclepius' snakes, as distinguished from Hermes', took an active part in bestowing their healing (ultimately derived from sexual power) by crawling among the suppliants sleeping at his shrines.‡

Medicine has other interests in the snake cult. Apollo, divine patron of medicine, established his shrine at Delphi where he slew the great serpent, Python.\*\*\* Appollo, perforce, continued his connection with the slain snake-god by becoming patron, by order of Zeus, of the Pythian games instituted to honor Python's memory. Further, the sacred tripod on which the priestess of the Delphic Oracle sat, was supported by intertwined snakes.†† (It still exists to bear witness, as it was stolen from Delphi by that notable Christian, Constantine the Great, to decorate his new imperial capital.)

To round out this elementary survey, it should be remarked that the serpent with its sex symbolism has figured in magic and religion all around the world. In Voodoo, a religion with marked

\*Graves, Robert: *The Greek Myths*. Vol. 1, p. 175. (Citing ancient authorities.) Penguin Books. Baltimore. 1955.

\*\*Graves, Robert: *Op. cit.* Vol. 1, p. 66.

†Oliver, James A.: *Snakes in Fact and Fiction*. P. 122. Macmillan. New York. 1958.

‡For a modern fictional treatment of this theme, see, Mitchell, Gladys: *Come Away Death*. Penguin Books, Ltd. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England. 1954.

\*\*\*Graves, Robert: *Op. cit.* Vol. 1, p. 76.

††Encyclopaedia Britannica. 14th edition. Vol. 7, p. 174, article on Delphi.

sexuality, the serpent is actually worshipped in the western world in modern times.\* Worship of the snake exists or has existed among widely diverse peoples from India to Yucatan. And it seems not at all unlikely that the snakes which legend says St. Patrick expelled from Ireland were sacred serpents, perhaps accompanied into exile by their priests and worshipers.

It should be noted, too, that the snake, though always sexual, is not always masculine. Medusa's head is a fearful object, whether in Perseus' hand, on Athene's aegis, or engraved on an amulet to avert the evil eye. Medusa's head, it is pretty well established, represents the female genitalia\*\*—at once an attraction and a symbol of castration to the male.

It would be interesting if one could get the serpent's side of all this. The only attempt to do so that occurs to mind is T. H. White's in that curious saga of King Arthur, of which *The Sword in the Stone* forms the introduction. "The Wart," in the temporary guise of a grass snake, hears from a real one the tragic history of the reptilian race. The last *Atlantosaurus immanis*, a gigantic but timid lady vegetarian who "had never killed in her life," had the misfortune to meet a human specimen of the sub-class *Homo sapiens armatus*, order of *georgius sanctus*; and *Homo sapiens armatus georgius sanctus* "killed her, of course," since he was so unobservant as to classify all Dinosaurs together (harmless as well as dangerous) as his enemies.† One has the feeling that there should be a moral in this; but inasmuch as the Wart, magicked into a snake by Merlin, did not crawl into a hole to hibernate and dream about it in his slow snake mind but became King of England instead, the story seems somewhat inconclusive. If the Wart's friend had known that *Homo sapiens*, of whatever sub-class and order, regarded the serpent with fear and awe because of its fortuitous resemblance to the erect human phallus, he would probably have considered it another of the mysterious misfortunes which nature had inflicted on the reptilian race.

The testimony could be multiplied to infinity that the serpent has long been recognized as a phallic symbol. It was, of course, one of almost innumerable such symbols. One can go well before

\*Pike, E. Royston: *Encyclopedia of Religion and Religions*. P. 346. Meridian. New York. 1958.

\*\*Freud, Sigmund: Medusa's head. In: *Collected Papers*. Vol. 5, p. 107. Basic Books. New York. 1959.

†White, T. H.: *The Sword in the Stone*. P. 182 ff. Putnam's. New York. 1939.



Freud to find modern recognition of what was once considered a shameful matter; and one should do so, for Freud's interpretations in this field are regarded with skeptical prejudice by too many persons who should be better informed. Richard Payne Knight wrote a discussion of the worship of Priapus in 1786, a book which met with such a violent reception it had to be withdrawn from publication. (He found a survival of Priapus worship in the cult of Saints "Cosmo and Damiano" in what was then the Kingdom of Naples in southern Italy.) Eighty years later, Thomas Wright, inspired thereto by Knight's book, extended the discussion of sex worship, including the female as well as the male principle, to all of western medieval Europe.\*

Knight lists the snake among many animal and artificial phallic symbols, the bull, the goat (Knight cites Herodotus as reporting actual intercourse between women and goats in Egypt), the ram, the lizard, artifacts ranging from amulets to temple decorations, gods, fawns and satyrs, and, of course, the sun. Wright lists the snake, a variety of plants from arum to mandrake to orchid, such phallic gestures as "the fig" or obscene hand, and various religious symbols. He also notes symbols of female sexuality, from the Shelah-na-Gigs\*\* found carved over the doors of certain ancient churches to such fruits as the fig, the apricot, and the pomegranate.

An even longer and more impressive list can be found in a small volume on ancient sex worship by a certain Sha Rocco who also considerably antedated Freud. This author, apparently using a pseudonym in the climate of the Victorian era, wrote his little book in 1874, and it was republished under the same name in 1904† by a company that was putting out much "advanced," including socialistic, literature at that time. The author pays due attention to snakes, and he notes other animal phallic symbols, such as the bull, ram, goat and tortoise. But animals hardly represent a start in the way of sex symbolism. Says Rocco: "Obelisks, pillars of any shape, stumps, trees denuded of boughs, upright stones are some of the means by which the male element was symbolized.

\*Knight's book, *A Discourse on the Worship of Priapus* (1786) and Wright's *The Worship of the Generative Powers* (1866) were reprinted in a single volume under the title of *Sexual Symbolism* in 1957. This book has an introduction by Ashley Montagu and is published by Julian Press, Inc. of New York.

\*\*Figures of naked women, the genitals exposed and pointed to with the hands.

†Rocco, Sha: *Ancient Sex Worship*. Commonwealth Co. New York. 1904.

Siva is represented as a stone standing alone." The letter "T," the torch, fire, a knobbed stick, the crozier, the pre-Christian cross, are other phallic symbols. Towers, spires, minarets, poles, and pine, poplar and palm trees, sometimes accompanied by "eggs, apples or citrons, plums, grapes and the like," serve as other symbols of the male genitalia. Female symbols include holes in the ground, caves and the sea shell sacred to Aphrodite.

There is no scientific doubt of the truth of these interpretations. Those cited here are—except for Medusa's head—all pre-Freudian; and it should be noted that Rocco in particular relies on still earlier authorities for his data. The fact is—as a young contributor to *THE QUARTERLY* once noted in an informal comment on his own manuscript—that the world is full of hollow things and things that fit into them, and one wonders at times if the business of insisting on sex symbolism cannot be overdone. There is no doubt that it is, or was, there; but how many spectators watching a children's dance around a Maypole see the original sex rite; and how many farmers nailing horseshoes (today's equivalent of the Shelah-na-Gigs) above their doorways for luck have an inkling that they are dealing with a sex symbol? The beribboned Maypole is quaint, pretty and full of the happy innocence of childhood; the horseshoe is a half-regarded, half-derided concession to superstition—like knocking on wood, which, incidentally, also has a phallic interpretation.

Sexual symbolism in these and innumerable other instances belongs to remote etiology, not present diagnosis—if it belongs to the present at all, it belongs to the unconscious. The architect does not see a vulva in a Gothic doorway; but he may dream of the doorway as one, recovering from his own unconscious the image some predecessor architect held consciously centuries ago. So, in a dream, or in free association, one may find in the unconscious the church steeple as a symbol of the phallus, or the spider as an emblem of female sexuality. Today, we do not doubt that the unconscious contains much that a worshipper of Priapus or Aphrodite or Dionysius would have recognized consciously 2,000 years in the past.

But sometimes one may wonder whether those of us who are well aware of the wilderness of the unconscious are not too close to it to see the trees of the neatly landscaped conscious. We deal, after all, with the conscious, every waking moment of our beings,

and it may be suggested timidly that sometimes the best way to appreciate the conscious is to accept it as it purports to be, not search for the unconscious mechanisms, motivations, symbolisms, behind it. This is not therapy, but good socially-acceptable behavior.

Even the snake, branded for uncounted centuries as a phallic symbol, has a wealth of other symbolism, as the Pedrinis' discussion demonstrated. The dynamism for its numerous roles may or may not derive from its power in the unconscious as a sex symbol—the probability is that unconscious recognition of the snake as a symbol of a driving, sexual force does have something to do with it—but its other roles in the conscious are well worth psychological as well as literary attention.

The plumed serpent of Yucatan and Mexico is a creation of the unconscious (and presumably not entirely a sexual symbol) as well worth attention as that of China's imperial dragon. So too, was the famous dragon-ship of the Vikings probably derived from unconscious symbolism, a matter also meriting study. But the eagle grasping a snake in its talons, which signified to the wandering Aztecs that here they should found their city of Tenochtitlan was presumably a conscious symbol, a sign of triumph in barbarian war.

So also conscious was the symbolism of the rattlesnake as exemplifying the code of the gunfighter of the Old West: "He is a gentleman; he warns before he strikes." And it is perhaps mere accident that the armies and the fighting ships of the United States today do not carry the rattlesnake flag into battle beside the Stars and Stripes. The rattlesnake here was a consciously-devised symbol of rebellion and defiance. It decorated the flag of South Carolina, appeared on the flags of our early ships at sea, and was on the banners carried into battle by many a colonial regiment. Typically, such a flag bore a coiled and menacing serpent with 13 rattles and the ominous motto, "Don't Tread on Me."

## BOOK REVIEWS

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**Learning Theory and Behavior.** By O. HOBART MOWRER. 555 pages including index. Cloth. Wiley. New York. 1960. Price \$6.95.

Professor Mowrer has here collected and historically arrayed a mass of research material from the original, classical animal experimentation, as well as from more recent crucial findings, all well illustrated with charts and graphs, and including his comprehensive interpretations of the conditioning and learning theories of Pavlov, Thorndike, Hull, Skinner and many others. He takes his readers logically from the earlier behavioristic approach and reward and punishment concepts, through the modifications which allowed, as properly scientific, the exploration of the intervening variables of the emotional states of fear and hope. Thence is derived one of the author's key issues, that of secondary reinforcement. To support his unifying, inclusive theory, Mowrer appeals frequently to ordinary life situations, and he includes the comments and questions of his students (who have used this material as a text), and excerpts from his voluminous personal correspondence with other psychological investigators. Further, he does not hesitate to include and evaluate cogent criticisms such as those by H. F. Harlow and others who have challenged some of the basic assumptions of his "revised two-factor theory and concept of habit."

The attempt to include in its scope all forms of behavior and learning becomes too unwieldy and overextended, the reviewer thinks, and cannot fail to provoke alternative theories, approaches and explanations for its weak spots. Basically, the contention here is that all learning is conditioning, but not in the older, mechanistic sense—rather with the leeway of varying reinforcement (incremental and decremental) for the primary and for two forms of the secondary drives. A novel and intriguing feature is the inclusion of a supplementary phonograph record dealing with the effects of "delayed feedback" on speech patterns, which is supposed to point up features of this particular learning theory. This volume has much stimulating food for thought, although many readers will be unable to concur wholeheartedly with Mowrer.

**The Beardless Warriors.** By RICHARD MATHESON. 337 pages. Cloth. Little, Brown. Boston. 1960. Price \$4.50.

A remarkably well-written war-book has a new twist: It concentrates on the 18-year-old boys, already in combat. Besides general grievances, the members of the "kindergarten squad," as the sergeant calls the new replacements, have a specific grievance: They are not even taken seriously. The author is to be congratulated on his achievement.



**It's Cheaper To Die.** By WILLIAM MICHEFELDER. 192 pages. Cloth. Braziller. New York. 1960. Price \$3.50.

The cover of this book states that this is a candid inquiry into the whys and wherefores of the high cost of illness in the United States today. To this reviewer, it seems like a manifesto for "socialized" medicine and a highly emotional treatise consisting of half-truths and of innuendos about the medical profession. There is not a paragraph or chapter which does not read in this manner. The author would have us believe that 90 per cent of the medical profession belongs to the American Medical Association out of fear and because of pecuniary interests. He claims that if a doctor speaks out against any form of medical care, he is ostracized and read out of the profession, that fee-splitting is a common practice indulged in by almost the entire medical profession, that hospitals are instruments of physicians and run only for physicians rather than for patients' care, that the American Medical Association is an authoritarian organization with a self-perpetuating hierarchy. The list could go on endlessly.

This book will probably cause tremendous hostility both among the lay public and the medical profession. The public will point to it as an authorized view of the terrible practices of the medical profession, and the average physician will wonder where all these doctors are who earn fifty to a hundred thousand dollars or more and indulge in all sorts of shady practices.

If the author's intent was to cause discussion and create difficulties, he certainly will succeed.

**Yoga.** By KOVOOR T. BEHANAN. 270 pages. Paper. Dover. New York. 1960. Price \$1.65.

This book, originally published in 1937, is now reprinted in paper covers. It is well printed and easy to read. It attempts to explain some of the principles of Yoga, its philosophy and psychology and compares it with some other systems of psychology, including psychoanalysis. It also describes some of the various postures and exercises used in Yoga. In spite of the efforts of the author to prove that Yoga is a dynamic system of psychology, there is little to support this, and, to the reviewer, it appears a rather static system with little to recommend it for Western consumption except the mysticism which will always appeal to a small group.

**Fatal Journey.** By VAHÉ KATCHA. 126 pages. Paper. Pyramid Books. New York. 1960. Price 35 cents.

The author, an Armenian, approaches an interesting topic—a prisoner in an unclear war setting is to be executed, and the three participants have disguised guilty feelings—but he cannot handle his topic psychologically. Surface description cannot reach the problem of the super-ego.



**Essays in Metaphysics: Identity and Difference.** By MARTIN HEIDEGGER. 82 pages. Cloth. Philosophical Library. New York. 1960. Price \$2.75.

According to the "preface" the two essays presented here were first given as lectures in 1957 and appeared in a book entitled, *Identität und Differenz*. They are minor compositions, written in a relaxed manner. The first (The Principle of Identity) is an effort to reassure the philosopher of a real place in an overwhelmingly technological world and the second (The Onto-theo-logical Nature of Metaphysics) is a technical development of extensions from Hegel.

**Man and His Body.** By BENJAMIN F. MILLER, M.D., and RUTH GOODE. 375 pages. Cloth. Simon and Schuster. New York. 1960. Price \$5.95.

This is a book for the lay public concerning the organs and complexities of the human body. It describes the various organ systems, analyzes the functioning of each system, giving some anatomy and physiology in understandable language, and with enough emotional appeal to make it an interesting text. There is a fair number of illustrations, which help.

This is a well-written text, which should appeal to the intelligent reader wishing to learn something of the functions of organs and organisms without becoming a specialist in biology.

**Intelligence: Its Evolution and Forms.** By GASTON VIAUD. 127 pages. Cloth. Harper. New York. 1960. Price \$2.25.

Professor Viaud's concern (he teaches psychology at Strasbourg) is not so much with modes of behavior and thought or levels of mental acquisition as with what he calls "practical" intelligence or what is better known in this country as problem solving. The conventional landmarks of such a consideration (man as a tool-maker, the Gestalt as developed by Köhler) are traversed by Viaud, and he is led by Weber's *Le Rythme du Progrès* (which postulates that man's cultural progress has been cyclical, proceeding through alternations of speculative and technical activity) to accept the possibility of races, epochs and civilizations of a purely craftsman type, as contrasted with an intellectual type. He concludes that we are currently at the end of a speculative epoch.

Considerations of Gestalt psychology generally arouse in the present reviewer the hope that an old Edinburgh favorite of his will be mentioned—Dr. John Brown, author of *Rab and his Friends* and the man who is frequently spoken of as the prototype of Sherlock Holmes. In an essay entitled "Presence of Mind, and Happy Guessing" (*Spare Hours*, Ticknor and Fields, Boston. 1862, pp.118 *et seq.*), Brown speaks of the capacities referred to in his title by using Aristotle's (Eth. Nic. VI:9) words, *ανχινοια* and *εγοροχια* and thus bridges two millennia of thought about a long-recognized property of the rational process.

**ESP in Relation to Rorschach Test Evaluation.** By GERTRUDE SCHMEIDLER. ii and 89 pages. Paper. Parapsychology Foundation. New York. 1960. Price \$1.75.

The belief or the disbelief of some individuals in extrasensory perception sometimes seems to be an article of faith rather than a rational opinion based on reliable, well controlled, unbiased, and honest empirical evidence. Lack of support for the ESP hypothesis in any specific investigation does not disturb the believers, who point out that ESP is not a universal and permanent human trait. However, equally sound investigations which support ESP disturb the nonbelievers because—to reject the conclusions of such experiments—the nonbelievers must question the logical validity of the statistical measurements of the significance of group differences (analysis of variance), according to which ESP seems to exist under certain conditions. The nonbelievers accept those statistical criteria of significance in other experiments but not in those supporting ESP. They should offer a non-ESP explanation of the facts but they have not produced it. Mrs. Schmeidler has contributed to the confusion of the nonbelievers, not only because her carefully-collected numerous data significantly differentiate between the sheep (those subjects who accept the possibility of paranormal success in ESP experiments) and the goats (those who reject such a possibility and do not believe in ESP), but also because all her subjects were tested in college classroom groups, i.e., in a situation “likely to be too impersonal to bring forth the wholehearted involvement conducive to ESP success.” Yet the results are impressive.

If the “guesses” or “extrasensory perceptions” were a matter of pure chance, the average number of correct guesses per “run” (of 25 cards) would be 5. The average number of hits per run of the author’s 758 sheep in 6,583 runs was 5.1, while the average of her 554 goats in 4,867 runs was 4.9. This difference increased when the comparison was limited to subjects with good personality and social adjustments. The degree of adjustment was measured by the Rorschach test (with the Munroe Inspection Technique). The 168 well-adjusted sheep averaged 5.25 in 1,410 runs, while the 103 goats averaged only 4.75 in 869 runs.

The difference was smaller in the less well-adjusted groups, the average being 5.03 for the sheep and 5.11 for the goats. All these differences are statistically significant. In another experiment (performed and reported some years ago by John Grela) 40 subjects were hypnotized individually, in three different sessions, to be “a sheep,” “a goat,” and neither. Then they took a well-controlled ESP test. Differences for all three hypnotic states were statistically significant and in keeping with the ESP sheep-goat hypothesis.

How can these findings be explained? Is the significance spurious and merely due to the partially arbitrary logical assumptions underlying the

statistical measures, according to which almost any difference (be it the smallest) is "significant" provided the number of cases is large enough? The average number of hits per run for all the combined Schmeidler cases, goats as well as sheep, was above 4.99 but below 5, i.e., it approached the expected "pure chance" value of 5. Are, then, the differences between the subgroups, small as they might be in absolute terms, a function of the belief and disbelief in ESP or thought transference? Can they be explained in some other way? Mrs. Schmeidler has made an excellent contribution which poses many vexing problems.

**The Disease Concept of Alcoholism.** By E. M. JELLINEK. ix plus 246 pages. Cloth. Hillhouse Press. New Haven, Conn. 1960. Price \$6.00.

The book is a historical review of definitions of alcoholism conceived as a disease in the widest meaning of the definition: "Any use of alcoholic beverages that causes any damage to the individual or to society or to both." The author, very well known for his leadership and research in the field of alcoholism, emphasizes that an agreed-on definition of alcoholism is not just an intellectual exercise but a practical matter, because it determines whether the rehabilitation of alcoholics will be oriented toward therapeutic, social welfare or penal measures. Jellinek himself differentiates five specific varieties of the illness of alcoholism, naming them with the letters of the Greek alphabet, from alpha to epsilon. Anyone seriously interested in alcoholism will want to study this rather condensed survey of the scientific approaches to this serious problem.

**Language in the Modern World.** By SIMEON POTTER. 221 pages including index. Paper. Pelican. Baltimore. 1960. Price 95 cents.

This book is a short but comprehensive coverage of the whole general subject of language. It covers the field, from a discussion of language and nationality, and language as communication, to a survey of the distribution of modern tongues and the discussion of comparative linguistics. There are excellent chapters on language and thought and language and society, both of which are of interest to the scientist concerned with psychological dynamics and sociology. The coverage here is brief but seems adequate, although there is an unaccountable omission of the work of Alfred Korzybski.

**The Wider Universe.** By PAUL COUDERC. 128 pages. Cloth. Harper. New York. 1960. Price \$2.25.

Coudere, astronomer at the Paris Observatory, presents here material dealing with the universe beyond the solar system. An informative unit in the reasonably priced "Science Today" series of Harper & Brothers, it deals with subjects such as the galaxy, the distribution of stars, the extragalactic nebulae and the absorption of light in interstellar space.

**Reading and the Psychology of Perception.** By HUNTER DIACK. 155 pages with appendix, bibliography and index. (XXIII pages.) Cloth. Philosophical Library. New York. 1960. Price \$6.00.

Diack, working at the Institute of Education of the University of Nottingham, has examined the development of reading ability in English children and finds that the facts are different from those advanced in common pedagogic teaching which, according to him, has been led astray by Gestalt theory. Specifically, he finds that the teaching of reading by various types of phonic method yields results superior to "whole word" or "sentence" techniques.

Diack's book recalls the uproar produced by Rudolf Flesch's *Why Johnny Can't Read* which blamed certain "modern" or "progressive" methods of teaching reading for much defective comprehension at the primary school level. Diack subscribes to this view in general, and also blames comprehension failure of this type for unnecessary behavior and personality problems which are susceptible of solution. Diack writes well and convincingly. He is easy to follow and takes time to explain what he sees, and also to explain what it is that he disagrees with and why. His book is recommended.

It might perhaps be doubted that some of the founders of the Gestalt theory (the present reviewer was a student of Köhler) ever intended (as Diack seems to imply) that their observations should have become as extended into doctrinaire theory as has occurred. It is interesting to observe (and probably significant, as we re-examine our notion of education in this country) that the professional educator is often an extreme and sometimes violent theorist. The effects of Gestalt concepts upon psychiatry have, on the whole, been less violent in general than upon the field of education in particular. In the first place, the Gestalt writers were accepted with greater reserve in psychiatry; and, in the second place, there has been less tendency to be dogmatic about Gestalt concepts. Not having overshot the mark so violently as the professional pedagogues, psychiatrists have less ground which requires to be retraced.

**The Interns.** By RICHARD FREDE. 372 pages. Cloth. Random House. New York. 1960. Price \$4.95.

Another book about hospital interns presents the typical and stereotyped characters who have been seen on numerous previous occasions! The story itself is stereotyped as well. The gamut of human emotions is covered, with sex playing a prominent part. The hospital is a large city hospital in a slum area, where it cares for numerous minority group patients. The interns are of various types; the dedicated, the casual and all gradations between.

This should be a popular book for the lay public, and would seem to have been written with an eye on Hollywood.



**Shakespeare and the Rose of Love.** By JOHN VYVYAN. 200 pages. Cloth. Barnes & Noble. New York. 1960. Price \$4.00.

The author, who has previously been concerned with *The Shakespearean Ethic*, here develops the theory that Shakespeare's heroines are love symbols. A not inconsiderable portion of the book deals with an important review and analysis of the thirteenth century *Roman de la Rose*, a formal work of great interest in itself. Like so many medieval artistic productions *The Romance of the Rose* is an allegory which Vyvyan examines with great skill, much learning and a delightful touch. He then draws some analogies between this classic and *Two Gentlemen of Verona*.

One may not agree with Vyvyan that Shakespeare deliberately and consciously set about the task of placing his heroines in a position analogous to that of the Rose (Is it not much simpler to assume that Shakespeare was a perceptive and accurate recorder of his age, than to assume that he laboriously synthesized as many trends as various commentators have maintained?) but this should not interfere with the stimulating and enjoyable experience of reading *Shakespeare and the Rose of Love*.

**Jean-Paul Sartre. To Freedom Condemned—A Guide to His Philosophy.** By JUSTUS STRELLER. Translated by WADE BASKIN. 163 pages. Cloth. Philosophical Library. New York. 1960. Price \$3.00.

Sartre's *Being and Nothingness* is a well, frequently visited by the Philosophical Library. Among the work on Sartre brought out by this publisher were a translation of *Being and Nothingness* by Hazel E. Barnes (1956) and *Sartre: Existentialism and Human Emotions* (1957). The latter contains, in slightly different phraseology, some of the material in the present work which is a translation by Baskin of Justus Streller's 1952 translation into German (*Das Sein und das Nichts*. Hamburg). In the present volume, a series of topical entities are arranged under headings such as "Things," "Man," "Love," "God," "Death" and so on. This is a useful little book, but it would certainly be a mistake to imagine that it would enable the philosophically naïve reader to understand either Sartre or Existentialism. A terminal synopsis, "Sartre's World," which brings the volume to a close, is helpful in approaching understanding but the uninformed reader who really wishes to evaluate Sartre in terms of personal utility will do well, as in the case of all philosophic writers, to determine what position Sartre occupies, historically speaking, with regard to others in the field of philosophy.

It is no accident that Streller, author of the present work, was a German. Many of the terms Sartre employs bear the stamp, not merely of the professional philosopher, but also of a particular Teutonic school of thought. Thus Sartre's *en-soi* is merely Hegel's *Ansich* and the latter's *Fursich* is Sartre's *pour-soi*. Existentialism is not only a phenomenological philosophy



(and thus essentially without any debt to reality), but, more particularly, a variety of neo-Kantian phenomenology, derived through Husserl. Viewed in this light, the taint of transcendentalism soon becomes apparent in Sartre's production. The promise of Existentialism, that it is a third way between the dilemmas of idealism and materialism, is difficult to realize, and some hard-headed critics, like Lukacs (in: Sellars, R. W., McGill, V. J., and Farber, M., *Philosophy for the Future*. Macmillan. New York. 1949) flatly deny that any "third" way is possible. For Lukacs, Existentialism is merely a variant of idealism. The scientist will be disturbed by another aspect of Existentialism—its reliance upon intuition as a mechanism for assaying truth; for, while no sensible person would deny individuality the right to the exercise of intuition, or even ecstasy, as a form of mystical experience, it does seem too much to claim that existence is achieved thereby.

**The Psychology of Crime.** By DAVID ABRAHAMSEN. 358 pages. Cloth. Columbia University Press. New York. 1960. Price \$6.00.

The chapter headings of this important book are "Social Pathology and Crime," "The Formula of Criminal Behavior," "Family Tension," "Juvenile Delinquency," "Psychosomatic Disorders and Crime," "The Offender and the Emotionally Disturbed Nonoffender," "The Classification of Criminals," "The Acute and the Chronic Offender," "The Sex Offender," "The Personality of the Murderer," "Psychiatric-Psychological Examination of the Offender," "Criminal Law and Psychiatry," "Rebuilding and Rehabilitating the Offender," and "The Prevention of Crime."

It will be perceived that Abrahamsen follows a comprehensive, procedural plan which is in accordance with contemporary usage. He may be relied upon to give solid, safe advice for the psychiatrist who is not himself familiar with usage in these areas.

Abrahamsen's title, however, is a misnomer unless one chooses to follow British usage in applying the term "medical psychology" to psychiatry. The clinical features of the book are uninspired. Occasionally, the author strikes what would appear to be a note of unintentional humor, as for example when he observes, in speaking of the members of Murder, Inc.:

"Important as it is to uncover the operation of such a gang, it is more important, perhaps, to study the psychiatric-psychological make-ups of its members. Very likely most or all were at least antisocial."

*The Psychology of Crime* follows a conservative line against the ultra-conservative background of the courts and is very careful not to disturb any but the most backward preconceptions of the bench. It is a model of the course to follow in order to achieve popularity and acceptance in the world of the professional expert witness. (In line with this it is interesting to observe that Abrahamsen's citations to the legal literature are

in better form than those to books, which generally lack authors' initials, dates and places of publication and names of publishers.) What criticisms appear are directed against notions which have long been abandoned, and the atmosphere which prevails is that of general acceptance. Abrahamsen presents few statistics and often stops at the level of the newspaper report. His theoretical orientation is in the direction of a highly schematized version of old-fashioned Freudianism—occasionally supported by examples chosen from fiction. There is much citing of individual cases, and the author feels free to restate commonly accepted generalities which might or might not be true but have not been adequately validated in the material presented to the reader.

Some of Abrahamsen's material must be considered unsophisticated and he seems not to be aware that the attempt to cast nonquantifiable (let alone qualitatively inequivalent) data in mathematical form is generally regarded as pretentious and methodologically unjustifiable. Thus, in his chapter, "The Formula of Criminal Behavior," he engages in a quaint and entirely superfluous effort to develop what he calls "laws" of criminal behavior. Of his "Law No. 2" he says, "A criminal act is the sum of a person's criminalistic tendencies plus his total situation, divided by the amount of his resistance. This law can be put into a formula:  $C = \frac{T+S}{R}$ ," whence he

goes on to, "This mathematical formula is a concept which can be used in understanding criminal behavior. In fact, it also applies to all types of human behavior. Thus if we substitute H (human behavior) for C (crime), we arrive at the same formula:  $H = \frac{T+S}{R}$ ."

**Laughter in the Dark.** By VLADIMIR NABOKOV. 292 pages. Cloth. New Directions. New York. 1960. Price \$3.50.

Nabokov had a success with *Lolita*—a book appealing to unconscious homosexuals who are afraid of women—and who acclaim the preadolescent girl devoid of female characteristics—and also appealing to neurotics who live on a pseudo-aggressive diet of transgression into the forbidden. Following *Lolita*, some of the author's old or out-of-print books have been republished. The present volume carries the note, "Copyright 1938, new edition 1960." The book itself is boring, badly written, inconsequential, concerning a rather silly case of a "middle-age revolt," with the protagonist a 16-year-old half-prostitute.

*Lolita* was at least readable because of its ironical presentation; the present book is unreadable, because pompous and stilted language predominates. Considering the author's "progress" from this book (1938) to *Lolita* one can say that the age of the heroine has been reduced, and the irony lengthened. Not much for a quarter of a century.

**Passport to Paradise?** By BERNARD FINCH. 191 pages. Cloth. Philosophical Library. New York. 1960. Price \$6.00.

The cover of this book would suggest a concentration on the addiction drugs. However, a reading of the contents readily dispels this concept.

The author discusses the historical use of various plant derivatives in witchcraft and medicine. Some of the chapters are "Drugs and the Devil," "Drugs and the Mind," and "The Sexual Power of Drugs." Opium, cocaine, mescaline, alcohol, strychnine, etc. are discussed. Actually, the author covers a large group of drugs derived from plants, and others synthetically made, dealing not only with sleep, sedation and pain-relieving effects, but covering the whole gamut of medicine.

The book is described as one for the lay public. It impressed the reviewer as too technical for the layman, and not technical enough for the technician. It tends to be somewhat repetitious, but on the whole is well written and will be well accepted by members of the ancillary services. It is of little value for the physician because of the rather superficial handling of the material.

**How To Improve Your Mind.** By BARUCH SPINOZA. 90 pages. Cloth. Philosophical Library. New York. 1960. Price \$2.75.

*De Intellectus Emendatione*, the original title of this fragmentary (it remained unfinished) 1655 treatise, is usually translated as "*On the Improvement of the Understanding*," which has a somewhat different connotation from that employed by Dagobert Runes who here republishes a part of R. H. M. Elwes' *The Chief Works of Spinoza* (1883). The essay is an early and immature effort by the 29-year-old philosopher and is chiefly of historical interest. It has nothing to do with the sort of thing the unsophisticated modern buyer might expect—something along Dale Carnegie lines—from the title the Philosophical Library uses. It reveals the young Hebrew skeptic rephrasing the ideas of the classic Latin philosophers (he was in the process of attempting to learn Latin) and attempting to make them his own, much after the fashion of a modern, somewhat unsophisticated college freshman.

There is something odd about the information on the dust jacket of this book which states it was composed when Spinoza was 26 years of age and two years after his expulsion from the Jewish community at Amsterdam. Spinoza was born in 1632 and read out of the Commonwealth of Israel on July 27, 1656, but the composition of this manuscript is usually attributed to the year 1661 (it is referred to in a 1662 letter by him). In this connection it is worth noting that the Philosophical Library reprint uses his original name of Baruch which, after his excommunication, he changed to Benedictus.

**Rorschach Responses in Old Age.** By L. B. AMES, J. LEARNED, R. W. METRAUX and R. N. WALKER. 229 pages including index. Cloth. Hoeber-Harper. New York. 1954. Price \$6.75.

This is a normative study of persons over 70 years old, and as such it is subject to all the limitations to be expected. However, it does provide the Rorschach worker with avenues for investigation and research with this particular population.

**Discussions on Child Development.** J. M. TANNER and BARBEL INHEDER, editors. 186 pages. Cloth. International Universities Press. New York. 1960. Price \$5.00.

This compendium is the edited version of the fourth and final meeting of the World Health Organization study group on the psychobiological development of the child. This was held in Geneva in 1953. It differs from many of the other reports in that the first and larger section of the book is of a didactic nature. Jean Piaget, professor of psychology of the University of Geneva, sent to each of the participants a letter on the general problems of the psychobiological development of the child. The participants then answered this letter, and Dr. Piaget replied. The second section consists of a free discussion of the various problems. Each participant is well known in his field.

A result of the reading of this book is the feeling that there is still a great problem of communication between the various disciplines and a tremendous need for a common language, or one which can be translated from one discipline to another without major shifts in the translation.

**Group Guidance: Principles and Practices.** By JANE WARTERS. viii and 428 pages. Cloth. McGraw-Hill. New York. 1960. Price \$6.25.

Dr. Jane Warters has written a volume with pragmatic and significant insight. It is a systematic, well-organized presentation of important psychological and physiological concepts including fundamental objectives, principles and techniques in the field of guidance. The book is an attempt to show that the various parts of a school group work program can fit together into a stronghold to provide institutions with kinds of group experiences that help the group members to learn to function creatively, to meet stress without too much anxiety, and to find satisfaction in working, playing, and living with others. Dr. Warters deals with concepts from social psychology, principles and techniques of group discussion, sociometric methods, group counseling, and application of guidance in school group work.

She handles sound concepts interestingly and intelligently, and her viewpoints are certainly applicable to the counseling of individuals and the training of guidance workers.



**Mental Drugs: Chemistry's Challenge to Psychotherapy.** By O. A.

BATTISTA, Sc.D. 155 pages. Cloth. Chilton. Philadelphia. 1960. Price \$3.95.

The main objection to this book is its title, which unfortunately reflects the attitude through most of the book. No psychiatrist doubts the value of drugs or the important place that drugs and metabolism play in the life of the individual. However, there are various statements in this book which imply that many psychiatrists are against the use of drugs or fail to recognize their place.

The use of medication neither helps to prove nor disprove the psychoanalytic therapy of behavior and the unconscious. The statement made that at least one-half of the patients cured by means of psychoanalysis would have improved to the extent that they did with or without psychotherapy is shocking, as no proof is offered for or against it.

In the early part of the book, the author implies that drugs cure mental disease. Later the statement is made that they should be used in conjunction with psychotherapy. The author describes various cases, implying that the present state hospital is still in the snake-pit era. He describes the recent decrease in hospital population as due entirely to drug medication, not mentioning the many other factors in modern treatment involved in this change.

In Chapter 3, he describes various syndromes due to malnutrition, again with implications that many of these are rather prevalent, especially in state hospitals.

In Chapter 4, in describing phenylpyruvic mental deficiency, the implication is made that this is fairly common, rather than that it is an unusual form of mental retardation.

This book is written for the lay public. Although well-written, it suffers, as described, from the main disease of such books: over-simplification and generalization. However, it will probably be successful and widely read.

**The Teaching and Learning of Psychotherapy.** By RUDOLPH EK-

STEIN, Ph.D., and ROBERT S. WALLERSTEIN, M.D. 334 pages including index. Cloth. Basic Books. New York. 1958. Price \$6.50.

This important work explores the nature of the process of supervision. In its four sections, the authors in the main discuss the training setting, the learning process and the relationships among the supervisor, the student-therapist, and the patient. Included is an excellent guide to much of the literature in this area of supervisory work. Very well organized, easily read, this book is highly recommended to psychiatrists, clinicians and social workers who are involved in a training program in psychotherapy.



**Deuterium Isotope Effects in Chemistry and Biology.** FRANKLIN N.

FURNESS, editor (38 authors). Paper. New York Academy of Sciences. New York. 1960. Price \$4.00.

This monograph on heavy hydrogen is of interest in view of the mitosis-inhibiting effect of the compound. The paper by John F. Thomson ("Physiological Effects of D<sub>2</sub>O in Mammals") states that when one-third of the body water of rats was replaced by D<sub>2</sub>O the rats died. While they exhibited evidence of impairment of kidney function, anemia and other disturbances, no specific cause of death could be settled upon. Elsewhere in the monograph it is mentioned that deuterium oxide may induce sterility in male mice and that mouse-ascites-tumor-tissue growth regresses as a result of use of the compound.

**The Diary of Soren Kierkegaard.** Translated by GERDA M. ANDERSEN.

PETER P. ROHDE, editor. 255 pages. Cloth. Philosophical Library. New York. 1960. Price \$4.75.

Andersen and Rohde's "Kierkegaard diary" made up of selections from his journals, is an important document not only for the student of Kierkegaard's philosophy but especially for anyone interested in this blocked personality who suffered, as Rohde says, from the dual inhibitions of not wanting to confide and not being able to. "No one," continues Rohde, "understood Kierkegaard's clinical case better than Kierkegaard himself, and no one has described its presuppositions more succinctly." Rohde believes that Kierkegaard intended that his journals should be published after his death since he carefully preserved selected material, and deleted parts which deal with "what he called the secret of his life, the secret note."

Much difficulty which the modern reader (who is unfamiliar with the Danish and, in general with the Scandinavian psychology which could produce an expressive form such as the *kenning*) might experience with Kierkegaard's more formal writings, disappears immediately upon even the most cursory perusal of his journals in which one comes face to face with an inevitable product of the early nineteenth century social system of Denmark. What was Kierkegaard's "secret"? At the risk of exposure by the professional student of this theologian's works, the reviewer would hazard that, in the broadest sense, it was nothing more than the recognition that his father (toward whom he had an ambivalent relationship) was morbidly distressed by an infraction of the superficial rules of the social system of his day. In a pamphlet published by the Danish Ministry for Foreign Affairs (n. b.), some five years or so ago, Peter Rohde suggests that the secret was the disclosure by his father to Soren that the son was the product of an extramarital union between the father and a servant whom he married two months before Soren was born. Such a circumstance would not, however, have any notable significance in itself and could only derive

significance according to the framework. In Kierkegaard's case, his father's digression "compelled" the conclusion that "God is not infinitely loving."

Kierkegaard must be regarded, given the personalities and mentalities of the son and his father and the social milieu of the time, as an inevitable product. Even the son's tortured efforts to free himself from the rigidity of theologic formalism were so constrained that he failed to reach either a notable degree of worldliness (such as the French philosophers found inevitable) or any approximation of beatitude (such as the Rhineland mystics had long enjoyed).

**Sourcebook in Psychology.** A Course of Selected Reading by Authorities.

By JAMES DREVER, et al. 335 pages. Cloth. Philosophical Library. New York. 1960. Price \$6.00.

This British composition opens with what is called an "Introductory Reading Guide" by Professor James Drever (psychology, Edinburgh). This essay which is divided into two major parts, "The Subject Matter of Psychology" and "The Study of Individual Differences," is certainly no "reading guide" and, while it has independent value, has very little to do with the specific selections in the rest of the book. Although a highly personal selection, the material included is worth having. Some individual readers will be surprised about the inclusion of some items and the exclusion of others. The general contents are divided into three sections: "The Study of Behaviour" (Boring's "Nature of Psychology," Bain's "Mind and Body," Clifford's "Body and Mind," Haeckel's "The Nature of the Psyche," Myers' "The Independence of Psychology," Saleeby's "Human Instincts," Spencer's "The Expression of Emotion," Darwin's "The Mental Powers of Animals," Watson's "The Advent of Behaviourism," Flugel's "Gestalt Psychology," Freud's "The Psychology of Errors"); "The Maturing Mind" (Bridges' "Adult Education," Burt's "The Mental Development of Children," Mowrer's "Discipline and Mental Health," Rivers' "Mind and Medicine," Brown's "Psychology of Personality," Jung's "The Psychological Foundation for the Belief in Spirits," Lowenfeld's "The Psychology of Group Games," Cameron's "Behaviour Disorders in a Social Setting," Drever's "Psychological Aspects of Our Penal System," James' "Habit," and "Environment and Mental Evolution"); and "The Study of Personality" (Burt's "Mental Differences between Individuals," Watson's "Assessing Personality," Kretschmer's "Physique and Character," Hamilton's "Attention," Tredgold's "Why People Work," Vernon and Parry's "Principles of Psychological Testing," Wilson's "Interviewing Candidates for Appointment," Maier's "Psychology for the Foreman," Northcott's "Workers and Managers," and Pear's "The Mature Personality").

**Freedom of Speech in the West.** By FREDE CASTBERG. 475 pages including bibliography and index. Cloth. Oceana Publications. New York. 1960. Price \$7.50.

The author has written numerous books and articles in the field of constitutional and international law. This book is a comparative study of various freedoms in the United States, France and Germany. He gives the historical background of their development, especially of freedom of speech and assembly, and discusses these in reference to the constitutions of the countries concerned, their guarantees and methods of enforcement. He discusses the origin of freedom of the press in the United States from the "natural law" of the 17th and 18th centuries, its incorporation into the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, and the development of the Supreme Court as the protector of the various freedoms. He discusses the Bill of Rights, the curtailment of freedom with the various anti-Communist laws, security controls and loyalty programs.

In France he takes up the limitation put on freedom of speech in the Third, Fourth and Fifth Republics, discussing the weak points in the French system of controls. In the case of Germany, he discusses the authoritarian, historical reasons for the limitation of freedom of speech and the basis in legal doctrine rather than in "natural law."

He goes into considerable detail concerning the West German Republic and in the final chapter makes comparisons of the various governmental forms.

This book will be of interest to anyone studying the development of legal and constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech among the Western nations.

**The Tight White Collar.** By GRACE METALIOUS. 288 pages. Cloth. Messner. New York. 1960. Price \$3.95.

The author of *Peyton Place* has come up with her third so-called novel, a book with little plot, and one comprised almost entirely of acts of fornication. As she did in her previous books, the writer shows herself to be a keen observer. Her characters are plausible, and much of her writing is good. She has proved herself one of our important younger writers, but this time she is not up to her former standard.

**Madelaine Austrian.** By ROBERT KIRSCH. 343 pages. Cloth. Simon and Schuster. New York. 1960. Price \$4.50.

This novel represents a typical example of an author's choosing a topic with psychiatric implications which he does not understand. This time, nymphomania with an artistic twist is the focus. The heroine sleeps with every fellow who shows artistic "promise." She is deeply disappointed. The reader, too, is disappointed.

**A House Full of Women.** By PHILIP MCFARLAND. 245 pages. Cloth. Simon and Schuster. New York. 1960. Price \$3.50.

A meaningless, unreadable first novel is produced by a writer of the Tennessee Williams school. In this supposedly psychological study, a 12-year-old boy is homosexually seduced by a fellow who attaches himself to his mother, too, and impregnates her. She commits suicide. The bisexual double seducer is impossible as the central figure of a novel, and is badly delineated to boot.

**The Troubadour.** By LOUIS VACEK. 286 pages. Cloth. Sloane. New York. 1960. Price \$3.95.

A satirical novel concerns a Parisian scoundrel and blocked composer who wants to plagiarize the songs of a medieval troubadour. He is hindered by a musicologist who discovers these very songs. As usual with satires in full length, the author cannot sustain his witty premise.

**Yama, The Pit.** By ALEXANDRE KUPRIN. 223 pages. Paper. Pyramid. New York. 1960. Price 50 cents.

*Yama, The Pit* is a classic of world literature, the appalling story of a brothel in Czarist Russia. It is, however, an achievement in character drawing that is probably valid for all time. Many psychiatrists are of course, already familiar with the book; and it has been described as the best depiction, from a psychiatric point of view, of the life of a prostitute. This low-priced reprint is more than welcome.

**Structural Psychology: *De homini mentis fabrica*.** By D. and K. STANLEY-JONES. ix and 179 pages including index. Cloth. Pergamon Press. New York. 1960. Price \$6.50.

The chief aim of this book is to relate a number of basic psychological and Freudian concepts to neurophysiological processes, not only indicating the extent to which the psychological and neurophysiological are two sides of the same coin, but also showing the mutual etiological interdependence. For example: "The capacity of the infant to express its rage is so poor, its powers of self control so weak, that rage is nearly always impotent rather than constructive, and gives rise to the frustration reaction; oral-crying therefore appears instead of the oral-biting or jaw-clenching of the adult." Lust and rage are defined as primary emotions, guilt and anxiety as secondary or derived emotions. "Anxiety arises from blockage or inhibition of the expression of rage."

The authors stress the thermal theory of emotions, the main principle of which is "that even in cold-blooded creatures the emotional response of the mind is linked to the same mechanism as that which serves to regulate the temperature of the body: We find on one side oral-sucking lust,



eupepsia, vasodilation, slowing of the heart, and the defenses against heat, all associated with the anterior hypothalamus, the parasympathetic and with sleep; on the other side oral-biting rage, dyspepsia, vasoconstriction, quickening of the heart, and the defenses against cold, all associated with the posterior hypothalamus, the orthosympathetic and with wakefulness." Applying their theory to cultural differences, the authors suggest:

"The Anglo-Saxon races, farthest apart in their moral codes from those of the happy Islanders, practice coitus indoors and by night, and associate it with a crushing sense of guilt. The Polynesians enjoy sexual intercourse by day, and by the open pathways and on the coral beaches, untainted by inhibitions, and (like the Eleusinian Mysteries of another pelagic civilization) they base their religious beliefs and festivals on an open avowal of sex rather than on its secret repression. Their coital rituals were performed coram populo in the beautifying surroundings of the sunlight and in the open air. Such indeed was the emotional pattern of the South Sea Islanders before the corruption with the morals of civilization."

The ambition has been to erect a system of "structural psychology" on the basic sciences of anatomy and physiology. The authors are critical of the conventional Freudian "retrograde analysis" and advance in its place "anterograde analysis." They argue that "the necessity for the transference situation in retrograde analysis is determined by the anatomy and physiology of the cortex" but that "resistance does not arise in physiological or anterograde analysis. Neither are the difficulties of the transference-situation encountered. The interpretations given in anterograde analysis seek to explain to the patient the physiological basis of his emotions of love and hate, referring them to the oral reflexes of his own body, and to the person of his real mother in the past or her present-day surrogates, good or bad, rather than attempting to create the wholly artificial emotional relation between two adults which is the transference-situation."

The authors have made a definite contribution. Their book is easy and pleasant to read. One might wish that the exposition were more systematic and more detailed, and, in parts, a bit more critical. Nevertheless the authors deserve credit for attacking so difficult a problem in an original manner and for offering a challenging theory and some of its specific implications. The book is of great interest, both to theorists and psychotherapists.

**The Professional Houseparent.** By EVA BURMEISTER. vi and 244 pages.

Cloth. Columbia University Press. New York. 1959. Price \$4.00.

Eva Burmeister maintains the thesis that houseparents are far more important than is realized by the agencies and services concerned. The author argues that warm feelings given honestly to foster children are essentially important, if children are to benefit ultimately from life's experiences. More-



over, she holds that a good houseparent is the product of skills, knowledge, techniques, and experience. Miss Burmeister rightly maintains that children in institutions have unfortunately too often had an overwhelming dose of negative experiences and deprivation; and it remains for the professional houseparents, as real human beings, to assist the children in their satisfactory adjustment to the vagaries of life. *The Professional Houseparent* is recommended to group workers, school and social psychologists, foster parents, teachers, and workers in children's institutions.

**Children's Behavior.** Viewed by Adults and Children. By SOPHIE RITHOLZ. 239 pages. Cloth. Bookman Associates. New York. 1959. Price \$5.00.

Psychology teaches each of us to view behavior from his own frame of reference, especially in terms of how the individual is affected personally. In *Children's Behavior*, the behavior and misbehavior of youth are dealt with, with insight and understanding. Miss Ritholz speaks of the evaluations and interpretations that the adult gives to behavior generally, in terms of emotions, symptoms of maladjustment, morality, and behavioral traits. In part, this book is overtechnical and emphasizes the statistical areas too greatly. The book is a study to be recommended for its sound comparisons of attitudes of teachers and mental hygienists toward the behavior of school children. Additionally, the author considers the viewpoints of teachers and parents, and the thinking of the child himself about behavioral matters. If not of sufficiently popular interest for parents and teachers, the book is a worth-while report on a research level to scientists in the field of psychological services.

**The Inhabitants.** By JULIUS HORWITZ. 286 pages. Cloth. World. Cleveland. 1960. Price \$4.00.

A highly interesting book gives in half-novel form information about people "on welfare" in New York City. The old, the hopeless, the "mental bums," the addicts, etc. are presented; the center of the stage is held by a mother and daughter attached to the same psychopath. The narrator is half-angry with, and half-torn by pity for, the victims. Psychology is not the author's forte. Sometimes, he comes up with intuitive observations like these: "Harlem is ugly, rotten, decaying, just because it wants to be ugly, rotten. It is Harlem's only way of resisting the final closing of the actual steel walls that enclose it. To paint the store fronts, to wash the windows, to plant flowers, to sweep the sidewalks, to wash the stoops would mean acceptance of Harlem as home. The Negroes I knew in Harlem didn't think of Harlem as home but as a trap. And why admit the trap had been sprung..."

**Basic Human Factors for Engineers: The Task Analysis Approach to the Human Engineering of Men and Machines.** By PAUL A.

VERDIER. 103 pages (no index). Cloth. Exposition Press. New York.

1960. Price \$4.00.

This brief elementary text is concerned with the measurement of occupational proficiency in engineering. The basic human factors, enumerated by the author as relevant in mechanical work, are perception, judgment, internal stress, and motor ability. The theoretical discussion, even the description of the mental abilities is very brief, oversimplified and old-fashioned (following a nineteenth century theoretical model). The booklet with its illustrations offers the author's version of a manual test which can be used to ascertain degrees of mechanical skill. He does not submit any data on the reliability and validity of his test, or discuss motivation or its influence on efficiency. His interest is limited to an analysis of manual movements involved in the performance of mechanical tasks.

**Female Convict.** By an Unnamed Woman, as told to V. G. BURNS. 144 pages. Paper. Pyramid Books. New York. 1960. Price 35 cents.

This book is a reprint of one issued in 1934, now in its seventh printing. It contains—to quote the blurb—the usual material: “an uncompromising indictment” of the prison system, “. . . matrons wielded whips, dope-peddling was rampant, the warden provided special cells for his ‘favorite’ girls, the crowded quarters encouraging unnatural yearnings. . .” Since names are not mentioned, there is no possibility of checking on the incidents reported. The “seventh printing” seems to indicate that adolescents like this type of book for other reasons.

**Strangers.** By ALBERT MEMMI. 174 pages. Cloth. Orion Press. New York. 1960. Price \$3.50.

The Tunisian French author who previously published *The Pillar of Salt*, presents in his new novel the story of a mixed marriage between a Tunisian Jew and a Catholic girl from Alsace. The marriage is a failure, and everything is “explained” by the different backgrounds of the couple. The psychological reactions are not accounted for.

**The Lovely Ambition.** By MARY ELLEN CHASE. 288 pages. Cloth. Norton. New York. 1960. Price \$3.95.

A harmless, friendly, rather naïve novel centers about a Wesleyan parson who changes his residence from England to Maine. He takes over a Methodist parish, and becomes interested in inviting some inmates of a psychiatric hospital to his home and is moved by their tragedies. His experiences with psychotics, despite kind intentions, are not too satisfactory. The author's good will, this reviewer thinks, is no substitute for good psychology.

**Blind Children in Family and Community.** By MARIETTA B. SPENCER. 142 pages. Cloth. University of Minnesota Press. Minneapolis. 1960. Price \$4.25.

This book, published with the aid of the Hamm Foundation of St. Paul, could easily be characterized as "just what the doctor ordered." As it happens, it is largely the result of lay effort but any medical group which had brought out anything like this would have had very good reason for self-congratulation. This book can be safely placed in the hands of anyone with the feeling that he will have an unforgettable experience in going through its pages.

*Blind Children* consists of a series of photographs with brief captions, which together take the reader through the development of the blind child to the stage of learning Braille and shrewdly point up the emotional problems of the parents and the nuances of environmental reaction. The subjects are real blind children and their families. The entire volume is done with knowledge, taste and sensitivity. The approach is highly practical and result-oriented. The photographs are superb and can alone serve as valuable objective records for further study and research. This reviewer predicts that this book will be translated into every language where there are blind children and printing presses.

**Neglected Areas in Family Living.** By THOMAS EARL SULLENGER, Ph.D. 447 pages including index. Cloth. Christopher Publishing House. Boston. 1960. Price \$5.00.

This is a motley collection of some 50 brief articles which have appeared in various popular magazines over the past few years. There are also a few papers from sociological journals interspersed, but the material is always cheerfully directed to anyone who can read, and who might be interested in happy marriages, family ritual, the family meal, household pets and similar miscellaneous problems. The discussions generally bear a sentimental, mildly uplifting message, particularly nice for the housewife after a hard day.

**A Singular Passion.** By JOAN O'DONOVAN. 224 pages. Cloth. Morrow. New York. 1960. Price \$3.75.

One of the better British novels exemplifies the fact that an author may be consciously ignorant, and unconsciously do the right thing. The story deals with a middle-aged spinster who mistakes the middle-age revolt of a hopelessly married man for the "real thing," only to have him return to his wife. In the end, the woman kills her domineering mother. Here is naïveté, but despite all demerits, the novel is interesting; even the "bitchy" mothers of both participants are well worked out in the narrative.

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

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**LURA NANCY PEDRINI, Ph.D.** Dr. Lura Gregory Pedrini holds a Ph.D. in English and American literature from the University of Texas (1959). Her bachelor's degree was in English, Spanish and history from the East Texas State Teachers College, and her master's degree in English and Spanish from the University of Texas. Dr. Pedrini has taught English at Texas Christian University, Texas Wesleyan College and Arlington State College, Arlington, Texas. While she was working for her bachelor's degree she taught high school English during the winter and attended college during the summer. The paper of which she is co-author in this issue of *THE SUPPLEMENT* is based on her Ph.D. thesis at the University of Texas. Her college teaching has included much attention to English literature of the eighteenth century and later. She is married to Duilio T. Pedrini, Ph.D., and they are now living in Glenwood, Iowa, where Dr. Duilio Pedrini is on the staff of Glenwood State School.

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**DUILIO T. PEDRINI, Ph.D.** Dr. Duilio T. Pedrini is assistant director of psychological services and term adviser and co-ordinator at Glenwood (Iowa) State School. His doctor's degree in clinical and educational psychology is from the University of Texas. His undergraduate work was at the University of Miami, and he received his M.S. from the same university, taking both degrees with specialization in psychology. He served as an intern psychologist in the New York State Psychology Internship Program in 1952 and 1953, was clinical psychologist at Austin (Texas) State Hospital in 1953 and 1954, did research work and was assistant supervisor of a dormitory at Texas Technical College, and was again clinical psychologist at the University of Texas from 1956 to 1959. He received his Ph.D. in 1958.

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**ROBERT E. PATTON, M.P.H.** Mr. Patton did his undergraduate work at the New York State College for Teachers in Albany, and graduate work in both mathematical statistics and public health at the University of Michigan. He has been in New York State service since 1949, first with the health department as a biostatistician and since 1953 with the Department of Mental Hygiene. Mr. Patton was appointed director of mental hygiene statistics in September 1956. In this capacity he is in charge of the statistical program of the department. He is the author or co-author of several papers in the fields of sampling, public health statistics and mental health statistics. He is a member of the American Statistical Association, the American Public Health Association and the Institute of Mathematical Statistics.



**ABBOTT S. WEINSTEIN, M.A.** Mr. Weinstein is assistant director of statistical services, New York State Department of Mental Hygiene, and he is statistical consultant on several research projects being conducted in the oncology and cytology units of Albany Medical College. He received his B.A. from Union College in 1945, did graduate work at Princeton University and received his M.A. from Cornell in 1947. He has done statistical work for the State of New York since 1947 and he was appointed to his present position in the Department of Mental Hygiene in March 1957. His publications include papers in the *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, *The American Journal on Mental Deficiency*, *Radiation Research* and *New York State Commerce Review*. He is a past president of the Albany Chapter of the American Statistical Association and a member of the American Public Health Association.

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**JAMES A. CAMPBELL, M.D.** Dr. Campbell, born in Illinois, received his medical degree from the University of Alberta in 1929. He interned at Grasslands Hospital, Valhalla, N. Y., and since 1930 has been with the New York State Department of Mental Hygiene, at Kings Park State Hospital and at Letchworth Village, where he is now assistant director. Dr. Campbell was in the army medical corps from 1942 to 1945. He is a diplomate in psychiatry of the American Board of Psychiatry and Neurology. He is married and has two sons.

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**DANIEL MILLER, M.A.** Mr. Miller has a B.A. from the New School for Social Research, an M.A. from C.C.N.Y., and is matriculating for his Ph.D. at Yeshiva University. He is at present at Kings Park (N.Y.) State Hospital where he has been supervising the psychology department. He interned at the Diagnostic Center, Neuropsychiatric Institute and Trenton State Hospital, both in New Jersey, and later was senior psychologist at Central Islip (N.Y.) State Hospital. He is a member of the American Psychological Association and of other psychological societies.

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**JOHN S. VISHER, M.D.** Dr. Visher received his M.D. from the Indiana University School of Medicine in 1944 and trained in psychiatry as a fellow at the University of Minnesota from 1948 to 1951. He has been in practice in Berkeley, Calif., since that time and has also served as head of the adult services at the Berkeley State Mental Hygiene Clinic and as consultant in the student health service of the University of California and the Herrick Service Bureau. He is clinical instructor in psychiatry at the University of California in San Francisco. Dr. Visher has taken a particular interest in clinic administration and has published several papers on various aspects of the topic.



**SOCIAL SERVICE STAFF, ROCKLAND (N.Y.) STATE HOSPITAL.**

The social service staff of Rockland State Hospital is headed by Mary Schroedel, supervisor of psychiatric social work. It consists of three senior social workers, all of whom are graduate, professional workers, and 20 to 25 caseworkers who are college graduates, currently in various stages of professional training and development.

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**WILFRED C. HULSE, M.D.** Dr. Hulse, born in Germany in 1900, received his medical degree at Breslau University, magna cum laude, in 1924. After an internship at the University of Breslau, he received both psychiatric and pediatric training in various German, Austrian and French universities. His first teacher in psychiatry was E. Kraepelin in Munich. He was in private practice in Berlin and worked part-time as a psychiatrist with the Department of Correction and the Department of Child Welfare of the City of Berlin when he left Germany in 1933 with the advent of the Hitler regime.

After one year of practice in Tunis, North Africa, he arrived in New York in 1935 and has been on the staff of Mount Sinai Hospital ever since. Until the outbreak of the war, he directed clinics for alcoholics for the Salvation Army in New York City. He served with the United States Army from 1943 to 1946 as chief of neuropsychiatric services, especially in combat areas in the European theater of operations.

Dr. Hulse, who has published extensively on general psychiatry, child psychiatry, general psychotherapy and group psychotherapy, is at present associate attending psychiatrist at Mount Sinai Hospital and is chief of psychiatric staff, at the division of foster care and adoption services of the Bureau of Child Welfare of the City of New York, of the New York Guild for the Jewish Blind and of Sheltering Arms Children's Service in New York City. He is chairman of the Committee on Psychotherapy of the American Orthopsychiatric Association, president of the Eastern Group Psychotherapy Society and a board member of the American Group Psychotherapy Association. Dr. Hulse was one of the organizers and presidents of the first and the second International Congress on Group Psychotherapy (Toronto, Canada, 1954 and Zurich, Switzerland, 1958 respectively) and is at present one of the chairmen of the executive committee preparing the Third International Congress on Group Psychotherapy to be held in Paris in 1961. He is the editor of a monograph, *Sources of Conflict in Contemporary Group Psychotherapy*, and worked on a book, *The Role of Vision in the Ego Development of the Young Child*, based on research with children suffering from retrolental fibroplasia. He is certified in child psychiatry by the American Board of Psychiatry and Neurology and in pediatrics by the American Board of Pediatrics.

DONALD G. LANGSLEY, M.D. Dr. Langsley received his M.D. from the University of Rochester and he was trained in psychiatry at the Langley Porter Neuropsychiatric Institute, San Francisco. Since July 1959 he has been a United States Public Health Service career teacher in psychiatry in the department of psychiatry, University of California School of Medicine, San Francisco.

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M. ROBERT HARRIS, M. D. Dr. Harris is a graduate of the University of Illinois College of Medicine. He served a residency at the Veterans Administration Neuropsychiatric Hospital at Los Angeles. After being in private practice in Beverly Hills, Calif. for 10 years, he joined the staff of the Langley Porter Neuropsychiatric Institute in San Francisco. For the last two and one-half years he has been director of the Outpatient Department at the Langley Porter Institute and assistant clinical professor of psychiatry at the University of California School of Medicine, San Francisco.

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JAMES A. KNIGHT, M. D. Dr. Knight is assistant dean at Baylor University College of Medicine and is assistant professor of psychiatry at the department of psychiatry there. He has a background in both disciplines for his paper on religion and psychiatry in this issue of the SUPPLEMENT, for he holds both divinity and medical degrees. Born in South Carolina, he was graduated from Wofford College, Spartanburg, S. C., where he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. He attended Duke University Divinity School at Durham, N.C., where he received a B.D. degree. He was on active duty with the United States Navy as a chaplain in World War II from May 1944 to November 1946, serving in the Pacific Theater on a hospital ship.

He entered Vanderbilt University School of Medicine in 1948 and received his M.D. degree in 1952. He served a general internship and a general residency, after which he was medical director of an industrial plant for a year, before taking a residency in psychiatry at the Tulane University Service of Charity Hospital, New Orleans. He was chief resident there during his third year. He was an instructor in psychiatry at Tulane and then joined the faculty of the department of psychiatry at Baylor. He was promoted to assistant professor there in 1959. Dr. Knight is certified in psychiatry by the American Board of Psychiatry and Neurology and is a member of the American Psychiatric Association and of the American Group Psychotherapy Association.

## NEWS NOTES

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### NEW FACILITIES FOR MENTALLY RETARDED

The J. N. Adam Memorial Hospital in Perrysburg, N. Y., a former tuberculosis hospital no longer required by the New York State Department of Health, is being converted to a facility for the care and treatment of severely retarded Department of Mental Hygiene patients. It is under the direction of Gowanda State Hospital and is known as the J. N. Adam State School Division of that hospital. The first patients are young children requiring bed care, transferred from Newark (N.Y.) State School; and the division will ultimately accommodate around 400 patients.

Another addition to New York state school facilities has started operations. The first patients from Rome State School have moved to the school's new Mt. McGregor Division. The facility, formerly the New York State Veterans Rest Camp, will also accommodate about 400 patients eventually.

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### MELANIE KLEIN DIES AT AGE OF 78

Mrs. Melanie Klein, a pioneer in psychoanalysis and a world-renowned children's psychologist, died in London on September 22, 1960. With a basically Freudian orientation and training, Mrs. Klein diverged to develop her own theories and methods in the treatment of emotional disorders in children. She instituted a technique of play therapy which has been adopted with various modifications for the treatment of children all over the world.

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### APTO OPENS TWO NEW CHAPTERS

The Association for Psychiatric Treatment of Offenders, founded in New York City in 1950, has announced the opening of two new chapters. They are in northern California and in Florida.

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### DAVID RAPAPORT, Ph.D., PSYCHOLOGIST, DIES AT 49

David Rapaport, Ph.D., widely-known psychologist, former general director of research at the Menninger Foundation, and a member of the staff of the Austin Riggs Foundation since 1948, died at Stockbridge, Mass., on December 14, 1960 at the age of 49. Dr. Rapaport was a writer and research worker on diagnostic procedures and on the organization and pathology of memory and thinking. His death came suddenly when he was stricken while out dining with friends.

**CLYDE KLUCKHOHN, Ph.D., DIES IN NEW MEXICO**

Clyde Kluckhohn, Ph.D., anthropologist and sociologist and past president of the American Anthropological Association, died in New Mexico on July 29, 1960, following a heart attack. He was 55 years old. Kluckhohn had taught at the University of New Mexico, had directed the Far Eastern unit of the United States Office of War Information when he was adviser to General Douglas MacArthur and later professor at the University of Tokyo. He directed the Russian Research Center at Harvard for seven years and was a winner of the Viking Fund Medal in Anthropology. He was author or co-author of numerous professional articles and books on psychological as well as anthropological subjects.

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**NEW AUDIOVISUAL AIDS CATALOG OUT**

The New York State Department of Mental Hygiene has issued a new edition of the Audiovisual Aids Catalog. Films now available for loan include 56 titles. The catalog includes synopses of each film, a listing of other department mental health educational aids, and regulations governing loan of the audiovisual aids. Copies of the new catalog may be obtained without charge by writing to the Office of Mental Health Education and Information, New York State Department of Mental Hygiene, 240 State Street, Albany, N. Y.

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**DR. HELEN ELLIOTT AND MRS. MABEL KIRKPATRICK RETIRE**

Helen E. Elliott, M.D., deputy assistant commissioner of the Department of Mental Hygiene, retired on October 1, 1960 after more than 25 years of state service. She had been, since 1957, assistant to Henry Brill, M.D., deputy commissioner. Dr. Elliott is the wife of Ulysses Schutzer, M.D., director of Binghamton (N.Y.) State Hospital and she hopes to devote some time in the future to increased civic activities in Binghamton.

Mrs. Mabel Kirkpatrick, director of social services of the department since April 1950, retired on December 31, 1960 after 35 years of state service. Before her departmental position, she had worked in social service at Marcy and Utica state hospitals, the aftercare clinic in New York City, and Rome State School. She left state service to be married to William Foulds.

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**NEW MENTAL PROBLEMS BOOKLET ISSUED**

A new booklet to replace an older one, "How to Deal With Your Tensions," has been issued by the National Association for Mental Health. Its title is "How to Deal With Mental Problems," and troubles discussed include selfishness and greediness, helplessness and dependency, poor emotional control, daydreaming and fantasy, and hypochondria. The booklet



is written by Harry Milt, psychologist and director of public information of the National Association for Mental Health. Single copies may be obtained free by writing to Better Mental Health, Box 2500, New York, N. Y.

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#### BARBARA GRIFFITHS LEAVES AS VOLUNTEER DIRECTOR

Miss Barbara Griffiths, director of volunteer services for the New York State Department of Mental Hygiene since 1956, resigned from state service on October 5, 1960. She resigned to be married and is now the wife of Paul H. Hoch, M. D., New York State commissioner of mental hygiene.

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#### DR. STAMATOVICH IS NEW DEPUTY ASSISTANT

Constantine Stamatovich, M.D., supervising psychiatrist at Creedmoor (N.Y.) State Hospital, has been appointed deputy assistant commissioner in the New York State Department of Mental Hygiene to succeed Dr. Helen Elliott, retired, as assistant to Deputy Commissioner Henry Brill, M.D., in the division of research and medical services. Dr. Stamatovich, born in Ohio, interned in California, then directed the West Tennessee Medical Center at Memphis before joining the state service in 1950 as a psychiatric resident at Central Islip State Hospital. He has been in state service since that time except for duty in the United States army medical corps for a period of two years.

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#### EDWARD HOCHHAUSER DIES AT 73

Edward Hochhauser, who was director emeritus of the Altro Health and Rehabilitation Service and president of the Altro workshops in New York City, died while on vacation in Chatham, Mass., on July 7, 1960 at the age of 73. Mr. Hochhauser, a resident of Hartsdale, N. Y., was a veteran social worker. He was instrumental in the founding of the Altro shops which aimed to provide sheltered places to work for persons who had been victims of tuberculosis and other illnesses. Within the last few years the Altro services have been extended to include persons recovering from mental disorder; and an article on Altro's role in such rehabilitation appeared in Part 1 of the 1959 PSYCHIATRIC QUARTERLY SUPPLEMENT.

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#### REMOTIVATION CENTER DESIGNATED

Philadelphia State Hospital has been designated "National Training Center for Remotivation" by the American Psychiatric Association. The announcement was made by Robert S. Garber, M.D., chairman of the association's committee on remotivation. The remotivation technique is a program in which psychiatric aides work with small groups to help stimulate mental patients, through conversation, to a desire to return to reality.



**MUSIC CENTER MOVES TO LARGER QUARTERS**

The Music Rehabilitation Center of the Musicians Emergency Fund, Inc. has moved from Carnegie Hall, New York City, to larger quarters at 50 West 57th Street, where there is room for three studios, an office and a waiting room. In its 1959-1960 progress report, the center announces that patients have been referred from 22 psychiatric clinics and 17 private psychiatrists. The staff now has seven registered music therapists and three trainees working part time.

## INDEX TO VOLUME 34

	PAGE
Activities, Community mental health, of psychiatrists .....	314
Adjustment of 100 patients following discharge from Letchworth Village .....	275
Adolescents, Psychiatric aspects of group counseling with .....	307
Astrup, Chr. (with Ødegård, Ø.): Internal migration and mental disease in Norway .....	116
Blake, Serpent imagery and symbolism in the major English Romantic poets: I. ....	189
Bonafede, Vincent I., M.D. ....	181
Book Reviews: 154, ....	345
Byron, Serpent imagery and symbolism in the major English Romantic poets: I. ....	189
Campbell, James A.: Adjustment of 100 patients following discharge from Letchworth Village .....	275
Change, The phenomenon of resistance to, in a large psychiatric institution .....	1
Clinic, mental hygiene, The problem of community pressure and the ..	288
Clinic, overtaxed mental health, Research and the .....	88
Coleridge, Serpent imagery and symbolism in the major English Romantic poets: I. ....	189
Community mental health activities of psychiatrists .....	314
Community pressure and the mental hygiene clinic, The problem of ..	288
Contributors to This Issue 182; .....	365
Counseling, group, with adolescents, Psychiatric aspects of .....	307
Discharge from Letchworth Village, Adjustment of 100 patients following .....	275
Dunning, Edward (with Fink, Ludwig): Therapeutic utilization of mental hospital industries .....	76
Editorial Comment: Better Left Unsaid, 146; "Don't Tread on Me" ..	338
English Romantic poets, major, Serpent imagery and symbolism in the: Blake, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, Keats. I ..	189
Fink, Ludwig (with Dunning, Edward): Therapeutic utilization of mental hospital industries .....	76
First admissions to New York civil state mental hospitals, 1911-1958 ..	245
From conflict to co-operation between religion and psychiatry ....	326
Fryling, Vera B., and A. Gerald: Patients' attitudes toward sociotherapy .....	97

	PAGE
Group counseling of adolescents, Psychiatric aspects of .....	307
Grover, William L. (with Ishiyama, Toaru): The phenomenon of resistance to change in a large psychiatric institution .....	1
Harris, M. Robert (with Langsley, Donald G.): Community mental health activities of psychiatrists .....	314
Hulse, Wilfred C.: Psychiatric aspects of group counseling with adolescents .....	307
Imagery, Serpent, and symbolism in the major English Romantic poets: Blake, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, Keats. I. .	189
Industries, mental hospital, Therapeutic utilization of .....	76
Internal migration and mental disease in Norway .....	116
Ishiyama, Toaru (with Grover, William L.): The phenomenon of resistance to change in a large psychiatric institution .....	1
Johnston, Roy (with Planansky, Karel): The psychiatric nurse as a ward therapist .....	12
Keats, Serpent imagery and symbolism in the major English Romantic poets: I. ....	189
Knight, James A.: From conflict to co-operation between religion and psychiatry .....	326
Langsley, Donald G. (with Harris, M. Robert): Community mental health activities of psychiatrists .....	314
Learning theory, Some social implications of: a review and comment..	283
Legislation for the year 1960, Review of mental hygiene and related..	131
Letchworth Village, Adjustment of 100 patients following discharge from .....	275
Mental disease, Internal migration and, in Norway .....	116
Mental health clinic, overtaxed, Research and the .....	88
Mental Health Research Unit Staff: A mental health survey of older people. III .....	34
Mental health survey of older people, A. III .....	34
Mental hospital industries, Therapeutic utilization of .....	76
Mental hygiene clinic, The problem of community pressure and the ..	288
Migration, Internal, and mental disease in Norway .....	116
Miller, Daniel: Some social implications of learning theory: a review and comment .....	283
New York civil mental hospitals, First admissions to, 1911-1958 ....	245
News notes: 186, .....	369
Niles, Charles E., M.D. ....	180
Norway, Internal migration and mental disease in .....	116
Nurse, The psychiatric, as a ward therapist .....	12

	PAGE
Ødegård, Ø. (with Astrup, Chr.): Internal migration and mental disease in Norway .....	116
Older people, A mental health survey of. III .....	34
Patients' attitudes toward sociotherapy .....	97
Patton, Robert E. (with Weinstein, Abbott S.): First admissions to New York civil state mental hospitals, 1911-1958 .....	245
Pedrini, Lura Nancy and Duilio T.: Serpent imagery and symbolism in the major English Romantic poets: Blake, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, Keats. I. ....	189
Phenomenon of resistance to change in a large psychiatric institution, The .....	1
Planansky, Karel (with Johnston, Roy): The psychiatric nurse as a ward therapist .....	12
Poets, major English Romantic, Serpent imagery and symbolism in the; Blake, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, Keats. I. ..	189
Pressure, community, and the mental hygiene clinic, The problem of. .	288
Problem of community pressure and the mental hygiene clinic, The. .	288
Psychiatric aspects of group counseling with adolescents .....	307
Psychiatric nurse as a ward therapist, The .....	12
Rader, Gordon E.: Research and the overtaxed mental health clinic. .	88
Religion and psychiatry, From conflict to co-operation between .....	326
Research and the overtaxed mental health clinic .....	88
Resistance to change, The phenomenon of, in a large psychiatric institution .....	1
Review of mental hygiene and related legislation for the year 1960 ..	131
Romantic poets, major English, Serpent imagery and symbolism in the; Blake, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, Keats. I. ..	189
Serpent imagery and symbolism in the major English Romantic poets: Shelley, Serpent imagery and symbolism in the major English Romantic poets: I. ....	189
Blake, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, Keats. I. ....	189
Social implications of learning theory, Some: a review and comment. .	283
Social service functions in a mental hospital .....	300
Social Service Staff, Rockland State Hospital: Social service functions in a mental hospital .....	300
Sociotherapy, Patients' attitudes toward .....	97
Some social implications of learning theory: a review and comment ..	283
Survey, A mental health, of older people. III .....	34
Symbolism, Serpent imagery and, in the major English Romantic poets: Blake, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, Keats. I. ....	189
Therapeutic utilization of mental hospital industries .....	76
Therapist, ward, The psychiatric nurse as a .....	12

	PAGE
Utilization, Therapeutic, of mental hospital industries .....	76
Visher, John S.: The problem of community pressure and the mental hygiene clinic .....	288
Ward therapist, The psychiatric nurse as a .....	12
Weinstein, Abbott S. (with Patton, Robert E.): First admissions to New York civil state mental hospitals, 1911-1958 .....	245
Wiley, E. David: Review of mental hygiene and related legislation for the year 1960 .....	131
Wordsworth, Serpent imagery and symbolism in the major English Romantic poets: I. ....	189

### BOOK REVIEWS

Abrahamsen, David: The Psychology of Crime .....	352
Abramson, Harold A. (editor): The Use of LSD in Psychotherapy: Transactions of a Conference on d-Lysergic Acid Diethylamid (LSD-25) .....	157
Administration of the Public Psychiatric Hospital. GAP Report No. 46 .....	168
Adolescence and Discipline. By Rudolph M. Wittenberg .....	167
Alcohol in Italian Culture. By G. Lolli, E. Serianni, G. M. Golder and P. Luzzatto-Fegiz .....	165
Ames, L. B. (with Learned, J.; Metraux, R. W., and Walker, R. N.): Rorschach Responses in Old Age .....	355
Ancient Myths, The. By Norma Lorre Goodrich .....	174
Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious, The. By C. G. Jung ....	178
Barbara, Dominick A. (editor): Psychological and Psychiatric Aspects of Speech and Hearing .....	166
Basic Human Factors for Engineers: The Task Analysis Approach to the Human Engineering of Men and Machines. By Paul A. Verdier .....	363
Basic Principles of Psychoanalysis. By A. A. Brill .....	157
Basic Psychiatric Concepts in Nursing. By Charles K. Hofing and Madeleine M. Leininger .....	178
Battista, O. A.: Mental Drugs: Chemistry's Challenge to Psychotherapy .....	356
Beardless Warriors, The. By Richard Matheson .....	345
Behanan, Koor T.: Yoga .....	346
Bertalanffy, Ludwig and Felix D. von: A New Method for Cytological Diagnosis of Pulmonary Cancer .....	159
Bibby, Cyril: T. H. Huxley .....	163
Big Ward, The. By Jacoba van Velde .....	176



	PAGE
Black Book, The. By Lawrence Durrell .....	177
Blackman, H. J.: Six Existentialist Thinkers .....	162
Blanshard, Brand (with Commager, Henry Steele, and McEwen, Robert W.): Education in a Free Society .....	173
Blind Children in Family and Community. By Marietta B. Spencer ..	364
Blindfold. By Lucille Fletcher .....	166
Book of the Dead, The. By E. A. Wallis Budge .....	159
Brill, A. A.: Basic Principles of Psychoanalysis .....	157
Bromberg, Walter: The Mind of Man: A History of Psychotherapy and Psychoanalysis .....	156
Budge, E. A. Wallis: The Book of the Dead .....	159
Burmeister, Eva: The Professional Houseparent .....	361
Campanelle, Thomas C.: Psychology of Education .....	171
Castberg, Frede: Freedom of Speech in the West .....	359
Chase, Mary Ellen: The Lovely Ambition .....	363
Child in the Shadows. By Edward L. French and J. Clifford Scott .	156
Children of their Fathers. Growing up Among the Ngoni of Nysaland. By Margaret Read .....	157
Children's Behavior. By Sophie Ritholz .....	362
Commager, Henry Steele (with McEwen, Robert, and Blanshard, Brand): Education in a Free Society .....	173
Consciousness and Society. By Stuart Hughes .....	168
Cottrell, Leonard: Life Under the Pharaohs .....	163
Courdere, Paul: The Wider Universe .....	349
Dabbs, James McBride: The Southern Heritage .....	158
Delay, J. (with Pichot, P.; Lempérière, T., and Perse, J.): The Ror- schach and Epileptic Personality .....	166
Deuterium Isotope Effects in Chemistry and Biology. Franklin N. Fur- ness, editor .....	357
Diack, Hunter: Reading and the Psychology of Perception .....	350
Dairy of Soren Kierkegaard, The. Peter P. Rohde, editor .....	357
Discussions on Child Development. J. M. Tanner and Barbel Inhelder, editors .....	355
Disease Concept of Alcoholism, The. By E. M. Jellinek .....	349
Dollard, John (with Auld, Frank, Jr.): Scoring Human Motives: A Manual .....	154
Drake, L. E. (with Oetting, E. R.): An MMPI Codebook for Coun- selors .....	162
Drever, James: Sourcebook in Psychology .....	358
DuBois, Cora: The People of Alor .....	167
Durrell, Lawrence: The Black Book .....	177

	PAGE
Education in a Free Society. By Henry Steele Commager, Robert W. McEwen and Brand Blanshard .....	173
Eisenson, John (editor): Stuttering: A Symposium .....	173
Ekstein, Rudolph (with Wallerstein, Robert S.): The Teaching and Learning of Psychotherapy .....	356
Ellman, Richard: James Joyce .....	176
Emotional Maturity. By Leon J. Saul .....	170
ESP in Relation to Rorschach Test Evaluation. By Gertrude Schmeidler .....	348
Essays in Metaphysics: Identity and Difference. By Martin Heidegger .....	347
Essentials of Family Living. By Ruth M. Hoefflin .....	171
Faiths, Cults and Sects of America. By Richard Mathison .....	164
Farmer, Philip Jose: Strange Relations .....	159
Fatal Journey. By Vahé Katcha .....	346
Female Convict. ....	363
Fiery Furnace, The. By Lawrence Williams .....	168
Finch, Bernard: Passport to Paradise? .....	354
Fletcher, Lucille: Blindfold .....	166
Frede, Richard: The Interns .....	350
Freedom of Speech in the West. By Frede Castberg .....	359
French, Edward L. (with Scott, J. Clifford): Child in the Shadows ..	156
Freud and Dewey on the Nature of Man. By Morton Levitt .....	154
From Magic To Science. By Charles Singer .....	168
Furness, Franklin N. (editor): Deuterium Isotope Effects in Chemistry and Biology .....	357
GAP Report No. 46: Administration of the Public Psychiatric Hospital .....	168
Gendel, Evelyn: Tortoise and Turtle .....	165
Giffen, M. B. (with Kahn, T. C.): Psychological Techniques in Diagnosis and Evaluation .....	155
Golder, G. M. (with Lolli, G.; Serianni, E., and Luzzatto-Fegiz, P.): Alcohol in Italian Culture .....	165
Goode, Ruth (with Miller, Benjamin F.): Man and His Body .....	347
Goodrich, Norma Lorre: The Ancient Myths .....	174
Gorz, André: The Traitor .....	175
Group Guidance: Principles and Practices. By Jane Warters .....	355
Group Processes, Transactions of the Fifth Conference. Bertram Schaffner, editor .....	170
Hall of Death. By Nedra Tyre .....	179
Happy Families Are All Alike. By Peter Taylor .....	160
Harris, Frank: Oscar Wilde .....	176
Heidegger, Martin: Essays in Metaphysics: Identity and Difference ..	347

	PAGE
History of Science, Technology and Philosophy in the 16th and 17th Centuries, A. By A. Wolf .....	179
Hoefflin, Ruth M.: Essentials of Family Living .....	171
Hofling, Charles K. (with Leininger, Madeleine M.): Basic Psychiatric Concepts in Nursing .....	178
Horwitz, Julius: The Inhabitants .....	362
House Full of Women, A. By Philip McFarland .....	360
How To Improve Your Mind. By Baruch Spinoza .....	354
How To Put Up With People (Including Yourself). By Richard W. Loveland .....	161
Hughes, Stuart: Consciousness and Society .....	168
Impact. By Ezra Pound .....	179
Individual and Familial Dynamics. Jules H. Masserman, editor .....	165
Infelder, Barbel (with Tanner, J. M.) (editors): Discussions on Child Development .....	355
Inhabitants, The. By Julius Horwitz .....	362
Intelligence: Its Evolution and Forms. By Gaston Viaud .....	347
Interns, The. By Richard Frede .....	350
It's Cheaper To Die. By William Michelfelder .....	346
James Joyce. By Richard Ellmann .....	176
Jean-Paul Sartre. To Freedom Condemned—A Guide to His Philosophy. By Justus Streller .....	351
Jellinek, E. M.: The Disease Concept of Alcoholism .....	349
Jung, C. G.: The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious .....	178
Kahn, T. C. (with Giffen, M. B.): Psychological Techniques in Diagnosis and Evaluation .....	155
Kaplan, Bernard (with Wapner, Seymour) (editors): Perspectives in Psychological Theory: Essays in Honor of Heinz Werner .....	172
Kaplan, Max: Leisure in America .....	175
Katcha, Vahé: Fatal Journey .....	346
Kelley, Harold H. (with Thibaut, John W.): The Social Psychology of Groups .....	172
Kessen, William (with Mandler, George): The Language of Psychology .....	164
Kimpel, Ben: The Principles of Moral Philosophy .....	177
Kirsch, Robert: Madelaine Austrian .....	359
Kubie, Lawrence S.: The Riggs Story .....	169
Kuprin, Alexandre: Yama, The Pit .....	360
Lane, Yoti: The Psychology of the Actor .....	155
Language in the Modern World. By Simeon Potter .....	349
Language of Psychology, The. By George Mandler and William Kessen .....	164
Laughter in the Dark. By Vladimir Nabokov .....	353

	PAGE
Laux, John D. (with Murphy, John P.): The Rhythm Way to Family Happiness .....	171
Learned, J. (with Ames, L. B.; Metraux, R. W., and Walker, R. N.): Rorschach Responses in Old Age .....	355
Learning Theory and Behavior. By O. Hobart Mowrer .....	345
Leininger, Madeleine M. (with Hofing, Charles K.) Basic Psychiatric Concepts in Nursing .....	178
Leisure in America. By Max Kaplan .....	175
Lempérière, T. (with Delay, J.; Pichot, P., and Perse, J.): The Rorschach and Epileptic Personality .....	166
Levitt, Morton: Freud and Dewey on the Nature of Man .....	154
Life Under the Pharaohs. By Leonard Cottrell .....	163
Loftus, Thomas: The Meaning and Methods of Diagnosis in Clinical Psychiatry .....	160
Lolli, G. (with Serianni, E.; Golder, G. M., and Luzzatto-Fegiz, P.): Alcohol in Italian Culture .....	165
Loveland, Richard W.: How To Put Up With People (Including Yourself) .....	161
Lovely Ambition, The. By Mary Ellen Chase .....	363
Lure for Feeling, The. By Mary A. Wyman .....	166
Luzzatto-Fegiz, P. (with Lolli, G.; Serianni, E., and Golder, G. M.): Alcohol in Italian Culture .....	165
Madelaine Austrian. By Robert Kirsch .....	359
Man and His Body. By Benjamin F. Miller and Ruth Goode .....	347
Man: The Bridge Between Two Worlds. By Franz Winkler .....	161
Mandler, George (with Kessen, William): The Language of Psychology .....	164
Masserman, Jules H. (editor): Individual and Familial Dynamics ...	165
Matheson, Richard: The Beardless Warriors .....	345
Mathison, Richard: Faiths, Cults and Sects of America .....	164
McEwen, Robert (with Commager, Henry Steele, and Blanshard, Brand): Education in a Free Society .....	173
McFarland, Philip: A House Full of Women .....	360
Meaning and Methods of Diagnosis in Clinical Psychiatry, The. By Thomas Loftus .....	160
Memmi, Albert: Strangers .....	363
Men and Morals. By Woodbridge Riley .....	158
Mental Drugs: Chemistry's Challenge to Psychotherapy. By O. A. Battista .....	356
Mental Health Education: A Critique. Pennsylvania Mental Health, Inc. ....	171
Metalious, Grace; The Tight White Collar .....	359

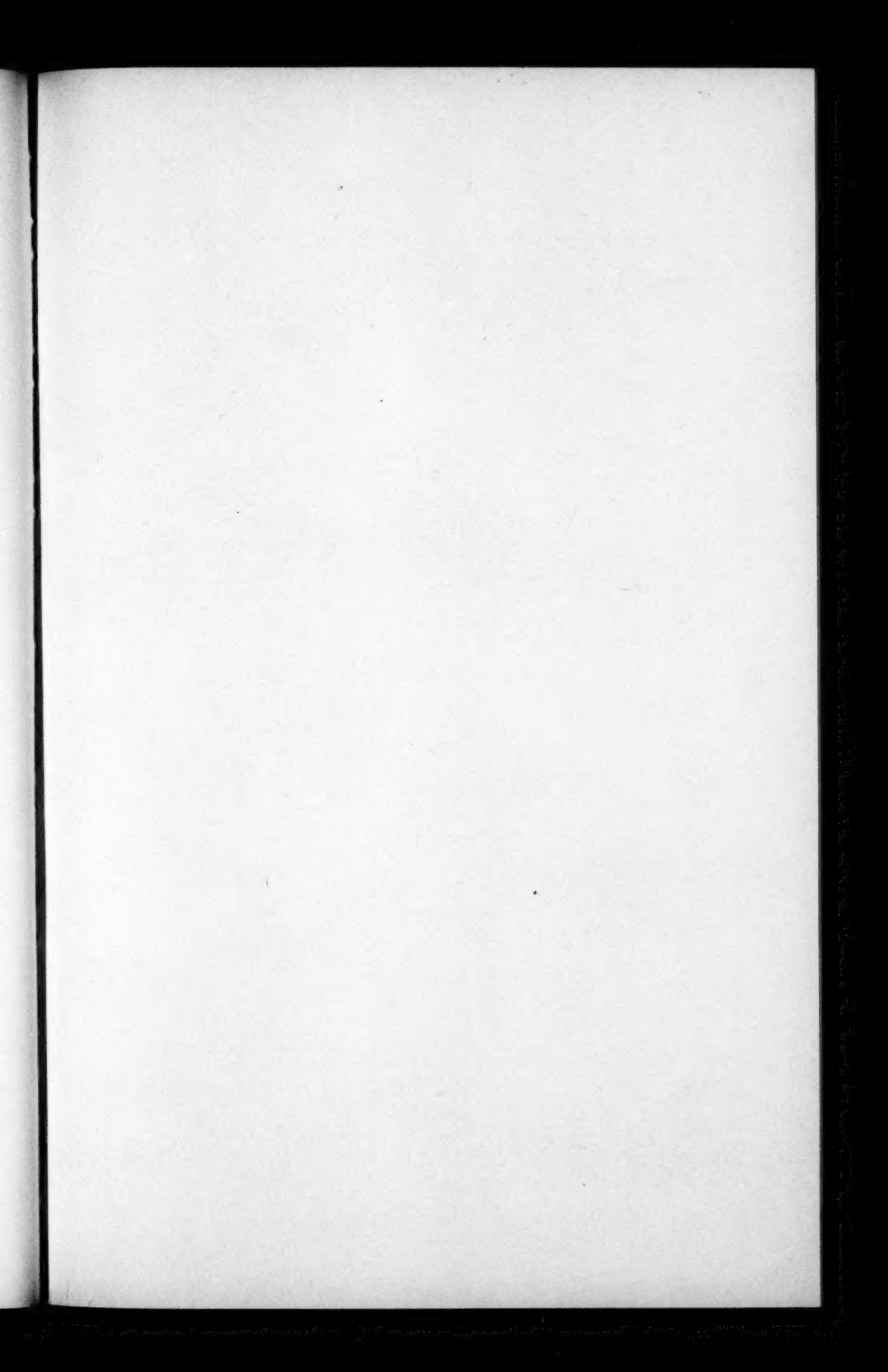
	PAGE
Metraux, R. W. (with Ames, L. B.; Learned, J., and Walker, R. N.):	
Rorschach Responses in Old Age .....	355
Michelfelder, William: It's Cheaper To Die .....	346
Miller, Benjamin F. (with Goode, Ruth): Man and His Body .....	347
Mind of Man, The: A History of Psychotherapy and Psychoanalysis.	
By Walter Bromberg .....	156
MMPI Codebook for Counselors, An. By L. E. Drake and E. R. Oetting	
ting .....	162
Moore, Bernice M.: Volunteers' Services—Modern "Miracle" .....	176
Mowrer, O. Hobart: Learning Theory and Behavior .....	345
Murphy, John P. (with Laux, John D.): The Rhythm Way to Family	
Happiness .....	171
Nabokov, Vladimir: Laughter in the Dark .....	353
Neglected Areas in Family Living. By Thomas Earl Sullenger .....	364
Neutral Spirit, The. By Berton Roueché .....	169
New Method for Cytological Diagnosis of Pulmonary Cancer, A. By	
Ludwig and Felix D. von Bertalanffy .....	159
No Compromise! By Arnold Whitridge .....	173
O'Donovan, Joan: A Singular Passion .....	364
On the Balcony. By David Staeton .....	158
Oscar Wilde. By Frank Harris .....	176
Passport to Paradise? By Bernard Finch .....	354
Penguins Progress 1935-1960. ....	169
Pennsylvania Mental Health, Inc.: Mental Health Education: A	
Critique .....	171
People of Alor, The. By Cora DuBois .....	167
Perry, Natalie: Teaching the Mentally Retarded Child .....	164
Perse, J. (with Delay, J.; Pichot, P., and Lempérière, T.): The Ror-	
schach and Epileptic Personality .....	166
Perspectives in Psychological Theory: Essays in Honor of Heinz Wer-	
ner. Bernard Kaplan and Seymour Wapner, editors .....	172
Pichot, P. (with Delay, J.; Lempérière, T., and Perse, J.): The Ror-	
schach and Epileptic Personality .....	166
Potter, Simeon: Language in the Modern World .....	349
Pound, Ezra: Impact .....	179
Principles of Moral Philosophy, The. By Ben Kimpel .....	177
Professional Houseparent, The. By Eva Burmeister .....	361
Psychological and Psychiatric Aspects of Speech and Hearing. Dom-	
inick A. Barbara, editor .....	166
Psychological Techniques in Diagnosis and Evaluation. By T. C. Kahn	
and M. B. Giffen .....	155



	PAGE
Psychology of the Actor, The. By Yoti Lane .....	155
Psychology of Affiliation, The. By Stanley Schacter .....	174
Psychology of Crime, The. By David Abrahamsen .....	352
Psychology of Education. By Thomas C. Campanelle .....	171
Read, Margaret: Children of Their Fathers. Growing up Among the Ngoni of Nyasaland .....	157
Reading and the Psychology of Perception. By Hunter Diack .....	350
Rhythm Way to Family Happiness, The. By John P. Murphy and John D. Laux .....	171
Riggs Story, The. By Lawrence S. Kubie .....	169
Riley, Woodbridge: Men and Morals .....	159
Ritholz, Sophie: Children's Behavior .....	362
Rohde, Peter P. (editor): The Diary of Soren Kierkegaard .....	357
Rorschach and Epileptic Personality, The. By J. Delay, P. Pichot, T. Lempérière and J. Perse .....	166
Rorschach Responses in Old Age. By L. B. Ames, J. Learned, R. W. Metraux and R. N. Walker .....	355
Roueché, Berton: The Neutral Spirit .....	169
Saul, Leon J.: Emotional Maturity .....	170
Schacter, Stanley: The Psychology of Affiliation .....	174
Schaffner, Bertram (editor): Group Processes, Transactions of the Fifth Conference .....	170
Schmeidler, Gertrude: ESP in Relation to Rorschach Test Evaluation	348
Scoring Human Motives: A Manual. By John Dollard and Frank Auld, Jr. ....	154
Scott, J. Clifford (with French, Edward L.): Child in the Shadows	156
Seeker, The. By Allen Wheelis .....	155
Serianni, E. (with Lolli, G.; Golder, G. M., and Luzzatto-Fegiz, P.): Alcohol in Italian Culture .....	165
Shakespeare and the Rose of Love. By John Vyvyan .....	351
Singer, Charles: From Magic to Science .....	168
Singular Passion, A. By Joan O'Donovan .....	364
Six Existentialist Thinkers. By H. J. Blackham .....	162
Snyder, Louis L.: The War: A Concise History 1939-1945 .....	163
Social Psychology of Groups, The. By John W. Thibaut and Harold H. Kelley .....	172
Sourcebook in Psychology. By James Drever .....	358
Southern Heritage, The. By James McBride Dabbs .....	158
Spencer, Marietta B.: Blind Children in Family and Community ...	364
Spinoza, Baruch: How To Improve Your Mind .....	354
Stacton, David: On the Balcony .....	158

	PAGE
Stanley-Jones, D. and K.: Structural Psychology: <i>De humani mentis fabrica</i> .....	360
Strange Relations. By Philip Jose Farmer .....	159
Strangers. By Albert Memmi .....	363
Streller, Justus: Jean-Paul Sartre. To Freedom Condemned—A Guide to His Philosophy .....	351
Structural Psychology: <i>De humani mentis fabrica</i> . By D. and K. Stanley-Jones .....	360
Stuttering: A Symposium. Jon Eisenson, editor .....	173
Sullenger, Thomas Earl: Neglected Areas in Family Living .....	364
Swarthout, Glendon: Where The Boys Are .....	158
T. H. Huxley. By Cyril Bibby .....	163
Tanner, J. M. (with Infelder, Barbel) (editors): Discussions on Child Development .....	355
Tashman, Harry F.: Today's Neurotic Family .....	169
Taylor, Peter: Happy Families Are All Alike .....	160
Teaching and Learning of Psychotherapy, The. By Rudolph Ekstein and Robert S. Wallerstein .....	356
Teaching the Mentally Retarded Child. By Natalie Perry .....	164
Thibaut, John W. (with Kelley, Harold H.): The Social Psychology of Groups .....	172
Tight White Collar, The. By Grace Metalious .....	359
Today's Neurotic Family. By Harry F. Tashman .....	169
Tomorrow Will be Sober. By Lincoln Williams .....	160
Tortoise and Turtle. By Evelyn Gendel .....	165
Traitor, The. By André Gorz .....	175
Troubadour, The. By Louis Vaczek .....	360
Tyre, Nedra: Hall of Death .....	179
Use of LSD in Psychotherapy: Transactions of a Conference on d-Lysergic Acid Diethylamid (LSD-25), The. Harold A. Abramson, editor .....	157
Vaczek, Louis: The Troubadour .....	360
Velde, Jacoba van: The Big Ward .....	176
Verdier, Paul A.: Basic Human Factors of Engineers: The Task Analysis Approach to the Human Engineering of Men and Machines .....	363
Viaud, Gaston: Intelligence: Its Evolution and Forms .....	347
Volunteers' Services—Modern "Miracle." By Bernice M. Moore .....	176
Vyvyan, John: Shakespeare and the Rose of Love .....	351
Walker, R. N. (with Ames, L. B.; Learned, J., and Metraux, R. W.): Rorschach Responses in Old Age .....	355

	PAGE
Wallerstein, Robert S. (with Ekstein, Rudolph): The Teaching and Learning of Psychotherapy .....	356
Wapner, Seymour (with Kaplan, Bernard) (editors): Perspectives in Psychological Theory: Essays in Honor of Heinz Werner ...	172
War, The. A Concise History 1939-1945. By Louis L. Snyder .....	163
Warters, Jane: Group Guidance: Principles and Practices .....	355
Wheelis, Allen: The Seeker .....	155
Where The Boys Are. By Glendon Swarthout .....	158
Whitridge, Arnold: No Compromise! .....	173
Wider Universe, The. By Paul Coudere .....	349
Williams, Lawrence: The Fiery Furnace .....	168
Williams, Lincoln: Tomorrow Will be Sober .....	160
Winkler, Franz: Man: The Bridge Between Two Worlds .....	161
Wittenberg, Rudolph M.: Adolescence and Discipline .....	167
Wolf, A.: A History of Science, Technology and Philosophy of the 16th and 17th Centuries .....	179
Wyman, Mary A.: The Lure for Feeling .....	166
Yama, The Pit. By Alexandre Kuprin .....	360
Yoga. By Koor T. Behanan .....	346









# THE PSYCHIATRIC QUARTERLY SUPPLEMENT

Vol. 34

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Part 2

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Serpent Imagery and Symbolism in the Major English Romantic Poets: Blake, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, Keats. I. L. N. and D. T. Pedrini .....	189
First Admissions to New York Civil State Mental Hospitals, 1911-1958. R. E. Patton and A. S. Weinstein .....	245
Adjustment of 100 Patients Following Discharge From Letchworth Village. J. A. Campbell .....	275
Some Social Implications of Learning Theory: A Review and Comment. D. Miller .....	283
The Problem of Community Pressure and the Mental Hygiene Clinic. J. S. Visser .....	288
Social Service Functions in a Mental Hospital. Social Service Staff, Rockland State Hospital .....	300
Psychiatric Aspects of Group Counseling With Adolescents. Wilfred C. Hulse .....	307
Community Mental Health Activities of Psychiatrists. D. C. Langsley and M. R. Harris .....	314
From Conflict to Co-operation Between Religion and Psychiatry. J. A. Knight .....	326

### *Special Departments*

Editorial Comment:	
"Don't Tread on Me" .....	338
Book Reviews .....	345
Contributors to This Issue .....	365
News Notes .....	369
Index to Volume 34 .....	373

